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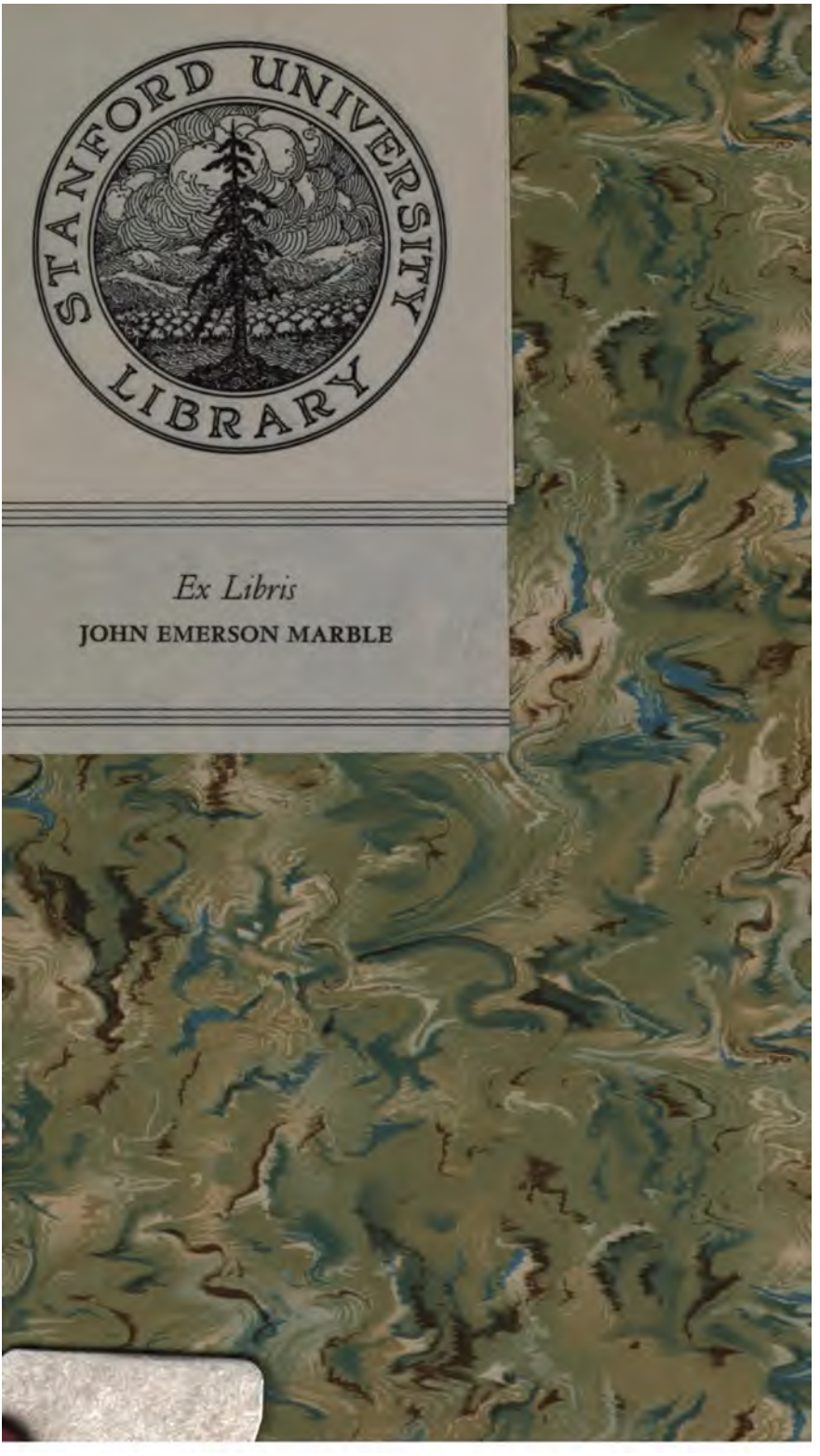
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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

OF THE SECOND SERIES.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page xxvii of Anniv. Discourse, l. 15, for *prerogation* read *prerogative*.
„ 8. To Hon. J. Davis, add LL. D.
„ „ *Rev. John Eliot, D. D. died 14 Feb. 1813.
„ „ Bot. add Dr. Ephraim Eliot, Boston, elect. 24 Aug. 1813.
„ 10. Top. James Savage, Esq. Boston, elect. 28 Jan. 1813.
„ „ To His Exc. Caleb Strong, add LL. D.
„ „ „ „ James Sullivan, add LL. D.
„ „ To Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D. prefix *.
„ „ To Mr. Samuel Turell „ †.
„ „ Thomas L. Winthrop, elected 28 October, 1800.
„ „ 3d l. from bot. add Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D. Burlington, N. J. elect. 29 April, 1813.
„ 11. To Hon. John Jay, add LL. D.
„ „ „ „ John Marshall, LL. D.
„ „ Add bot. Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D. Pres. Union Coll. Schenectady, N. Y. elected 29 April, 1813.
„ 12. 4th l. insert John Pintard, Esq. N. York, elected 28 Oct. 1813.
„ „ To Edmund Randolph, add then of Philadelphia, and prefix †.
„ „ After Benj. Silliman, insert
His Exc. John Cotton Smith, Sharon, Conn. elected 29 April, 1813.
„ „ 3d line from bott. to President Wheelock, prefix Hon. for Dr.
„ 13. In list of Correspond. Secr'y, to Rev. John Eliot, D. D. add 1813.
„ „ Add Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. 1813.
„ „ In list standing committee to Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. add 1813.
„ „ Add Rev. John Pierce, 1813.
„ „ In committees of publication,
To Hon. Josiah Quincy. add and II. 2d S.
„ Rev. Abiel Holmes, „ „ „ „
„ „ Thaddeus M. Harris „ „ „
Add Rev. Joseph M'Kean, II. N. S.
„ 219, last line, for *or*, read *nor*.
„ 231, line 11 from bot. for *have*, read *has*.

A

DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BOSTON, DECEMBER 22, 1813.

AT THEIR

ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

OF THE

FIRST LANDING OF OUR ANCESTORS

AT

PLYMOUTH,

IN 1620.

BY JOHN DAVIS,
A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

——— habet ipsa suos HEROAS alitque
Religio; sed enim stimulis melioribus illos
Exacuit, quam spes incertæ laudis et auri
Exitiosa fames, ac turbidus ardor honorum. ——
ANTI-LUCRETIUS.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN ELIOT, NO. 5, COURT STREET.

1814.

DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OBEDIENT to your invitation I attempt to offer some suggestions adapted to the day, which you are assembled to celebrate.

I should feel much solicitude in standing as your representative, and, in some sense, as the interpreter of your views and sentiments, on your first celebration of this anniversary, were I not assured of meeting an interest in the subject, which must banish all fastidiousness, and that candour which is the inseparable inmate of generous and elevated minds.

A year of gloomy aspect is now drawing to a close, and we have arrived to that season, when, as we are instructed, the Almighty "sealeth up the hand of every "man, that all men may know his work." Amidst the many contemplations, prompted by such intimations, it cannot be an unsuitable employment to look back to the origin of our state, and to revive, in recollection, the transactions and the toils of our pilgrim fathers, who, at such a season, first landed on these shores.

We are ordinarily impelled rather to look forward to the future, than to trace the scenes that are past; to indulge the pleasing visions of hope, than to engage in the severer exercises of reflection and inquiry. Both have their use, the one for encouragement, the other for instruction. Such, indeed, has been the rapidity with which these western stars have advanced towards their meridian, that it seems but yesterday since the time of

their rising. A nation has been born in a day, and in looking backward to our origin we can scarcely be said to be looking into antiquity.

Until the voyage of the intrepid SMITH, in 1614, this portion of the American region was very imperfectly known. He surveyed its coasts with characteristick assiduity, and delineated its outline on a chart, which evidences the accuracy of his observations. Leaving the high craggy rocks and stony isles of Penobscot, Pemaquid and Sagadahock, he dwells, with marked satisfaction, on the more genial shores of Naumkeak, the sandy Agawam, the fair head-land Tragabigzanda, and then the country of the Massachusetts, which he describes as "the paradise of all these parts." "For here," said he, "are many isles planted with corn, groves, mulberries, "savage gardens, and good harbours. The sea coasts," he continues, "as you pass, shew you all along large "corn-fields and great troops of well-proportioned peo-"ple. [A.] This distinguished adventurer had been eminently instrumental in the settlement of Virginia, and now was equally ardent in recommending to his countrymen the virgin's sister, New England, for such was his own appellation of a region which appears to have taken a strong hold on his affections.

The time had arrived, when this fair territory was to be occupied by civilized inhabitants. Many causes concurred to produce this desirable transfusion from the European world; but it was ultimately accomplished upon other principles and views than its enterprizing eulogist had inculcated.

The history of the New-England establishments admits a natural division into three periods. The first from the commencement of the plantations to the revolution in England, on the accession of the Prince of Orange, when the principal colony received a new charter.

The second will extend to the achievement of independence.

The third embraces the years, which have elapsed since the peace in 1783 to the present times.

The latter portion and part of the second is involved in the history of the United States. In the remarks, which may now be offered, I shall confine myself to our primitive age and to some connected considerations suggested by the occasion.

It is a period of brief extent in the history of a nation, not exceeding the age of man. But brief as it is, it possesses peculiar interest, not only to the American people, but to all of every country, who delight to contemplate the progress of civilization and the amelioration of the human condition.

The expansion of intellect, and the spirit of enterprize, which arose in England, and especially in the long and distinguished reign of Elizabeth, prompted many superiour minds to engage in remote discoveries, and to project the establishment of foreign plantations. The settlements, however, which had been attempted in this part of America, upon the views of princes, statesmen and merchant-adventurers had not answered the expectations that had been indulged. To humbler men was reserved the happiness and the honour of effecting a successful and permanent establishment. Amidst the persecutions and sufferings for a frank expression of conviction and adherence to religious truth, the characters were formed, which should be fitted for this arduous work. In that severe school did the little band, whom we this day commemorate, receive their discipline, and acquire that heroick hardihood, which enabled them to surmount the difficulties and distresses to which they were exposed. It required, indeed, the most vigorous exertion of those elevated principles by which they were actuated not to sink into despondency, amidst the hardships and calamities of that dreary winter in which they commenced their settlement.

The whole number of the company was but one hundred and one. Of these, eighteen were women, who accompanied their husbands in the voyage, and sustained, with calm endurance, their full portion of adversity; forty-two were children and servants. [B.]

With all their industry, the huts, which they could erect at that season of the year, were comfortless abodes. The

winter, indeed, appears not to have been so severe as is common in this climate, but was probably more rigorous than they had before experienced. Amidst their many privations and continual apprehensions from the natives a desolating mortality prevailed, and before the end of March, only one half of their original number remained. Happily the mortality ceased with the advancing spring, and the sick speedily recovered. Early in April they despatched the ship which had conveyed them, and we cannot but admire the resolution of the miserable remnant that they could witness her departure without embracing the opportunity to escape from the sad scene of disaster. But they had declared themselves to be men not easily to be discouraged and "weaned from the delicate milk "of their mother country." They were pledged to their brethren in Leyden to prepare a place for their reception. They were the forlorn hope in an enterprize, which had been most deliberately debated and adopted, and with unshaken faith and constancy they adhered to the perilous station.

The sudden death of CARVER their beloved governour was a severe calamity. Soon afterward the spirit of his afflicted consort was released from the burden of its woes, and then the hand of the destroying angel was stayed.

Under the guidance of BRADFORD, the worthy successor of CARVER, the affairs of the plantation were managed with ability. The new settlers were instructed by the faithful Tisquantum in the cultivation of the native grain of the country, and the summer elapsed without suffering or complaint. But often afterward they experienced the bitterness of want, which they sustained with undiminished fortitude. Their Leyden friends arrived at different intervals. The exertions to bring over these companions diminished their means, and a scanty support for the original number was participated with the new comers with cheerful kindness. The pressure of their wants obliged them to make successive voyages along the neighbouring coasts, and to the fishing stations at the eastward, and the zeal and enterprize of these persevering men appears more admirable when we consider the insignificant state

of their navigation. Their first voyage to Kennebeck was in an open boat, and the men, who navigated their little barks at all seasons of the year, and on dangerous coasts, possessed not the experience or habits of seamen. To borrow their own language, "they had only been used "in their native land to a plain country life and the inno- "cent trade of husbandry." The urgency of their wants compelled them to new habits and arduous pursuits on an unaccustomed element. In those enterprizes their intrepid leaders were always prompt to engage. "The "first voyage to Kennebeck," says governour Bradford, "was made by Mr. Winslow and some old standards, for "seamen we had none."

Four years after their landing, their settlement contained only one hundred and eighty persons, and thirty-two dwelling-houses. It was a prudent precaution to enclose their town with an impalement, and to erect a fortress on the commanding eminence by which it was overlooked: but their amicable arrangements with the natives, in the vicinity gave a more effectual security from their incursions.

A trade was opened with the Indians, with the Dutch on Hudson's river, and to Penobscot. On the Kennebeck, they had a valuable grant of territory from the council for New England, and, in the year 1633, some of their company entered the beautiful river Connecticut, and erected houses of trade on its banks. Agriculture, their favourite pursuit, commanded general attention as their settlements were extended, and the colony advanced, though by slow degrees, to maturity and strength. In 1685, it was divided into three counties, and in the same year their body of laws was revised and published. It is a small but venerable volume, and contains many marks of the wisdom and piety of the framers. Their constitution may be thought defective in respect to that correct division and balance of power, which more profound statesmen have found necessary for a just expression of the publick will and for the security of private rights. Their class of capital offences may be considered as too extensive, and their judicial system would seem to leave an alarming latitude to the

discretion of the magistrate. [C.] But there will be found evidence of their correct conception of many of the most important principles of civil and political liberty. Their good sense will be acknowledged in the express adoption of the common law of England in cases suitable, recurring less frequently than did some of their neighbours to inconvenient or inapplicable regulations derived from the Jewish œconomy; and their careful provision of the means of instruction in piety, virtue and knowledge will entitle them to the respectful estimation of every intelligent examiner, to the grateful veneration of posterity.

Their successful enterprize and peaceful establishment afforded encouragement to all, who felt the yoke of oppression in their native country. In about ten years after their settlement, commenced the colony of Massachusetts, [D.] in its vigorous origin and rapid growth far surpassing any preceding American establishment. In ten years from the commencement of Plymouth Colony the number of inhabitants did not exceed three hundred. In an equal space of time from the settlement of Massachusetts, more than twenty thousand persons had arrived, and three hundred ships had been employed in their transportation. In money and commodities, in artizans of every necessary description, in the means of defence, and all the furniture of a state, there was a correspondent superiority. The rapid rise of this powerful neighbour was beheld with admiration and delight by the Plymouth planters. The accession of such numbers of their countrymen, perfectly according with themselves in political and religious sentiments, ensured strength and permanency to their institutions. They had aspired to the humble honour of being *stepping stones* to others, and there was now an early and glorious accomplishment of their ardent hopes and most consoling anticipations.

It seems to be in the order of Divine Providence to attach the most impressive lessons to the tender sentiment with which we behold afflicted innocence and suffering virtue.

The Massachusetts settlers, those who were under the conduct of Endicott, as well as the more numerous body

under the leading of Winthrop and his renowned associates, though they arrived in a milder season, and were furnished with far superiour accommodations, were yet destined, like their precursors, to witness the death of many of their companions in the earliest stage of their establishment. Some of the victims were of distinguished eminence. Such were Johnson, Rossiter and Higginson, and the history of the fathers manifests the sad solemnity with which they surrounded the grave of the lady Arabella. [E.]

It would be interesting to trace the progress of this memorable colony, in its civil and ecclesiastical relations, from the first court of assistants on board the ship Arabella, and the congregation of the reverend Wilson assembled under the great tree at Charlestown; but the necessary limits of this discourse would forbid the attempt, if I could suppose that the details were not familiar to my intelligent auditors.

The succession of churches indicates the progressive order of their settlements, in this vicinity. Boston, although soon selected as the metropolis, is the fourth in the order of churches. Salem, Charlestown, and Dorchester preceded it. Then followed Roxbury, Lynn, Watertown, Cambridge, Ipswich, Newbury, Concord and Hingham, and all in the first seven years. [F.] From the bosom of Massachusetts proceeded the settlers of Connecticut, then followed New Haven. The wilderness blossomed in every direction; and before the close of the century there were in the *New England* colonies one hundred and thirty churches, and all, with few exceptions, supplied with pastors. [G.]

The first planters of Massachusetts, though puritans, had not, like Mr. Robinson's society, separated from the Church of England before their arrival in this country. As soon as they were at liberty to pursue, unimpeded, their own ideas of ecclesiastical order, they adopted, with little variation, the practice of the Plymouth settlers. The independence of churches was the leading feature of their scheme, which was elaborated into a system of church

government and discipline by the platform of 1648. Considerable difficulty appears to have been experienced to maintain an uniformity in many respects so desirable, without an approximation in their establishment to a *National Church*, which was the great object of their dislike in the parent country. This obnoxious feature, whether manifested in Episcopalian or Presbyterian rule, they could not endure, and at length adopted the communion, or, as some of their writers express it, a colloquy of churches; a mere government of influence, by which the liberty of churches was maintained, and many of the advantages, which might be derived from a superintending authoritative control, were secured. Ecclesiastical concerns occupied much of the attention of our ancestors in every stage of their progress, and they had men of the first ability to construct the Congregational system, which they established. Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Hooker, Davenport, Shepard, Stone, Mitchell and Chauncy were names of great and deserved celebrity on both sides the Atlantick. They professed to adhere to scripture rule, and none can doubt their sincerity. But, in every construction of this sort, there will inevitably intrude a mixture of human invention, which it was their declared principle to avoid.

In a subsequent synod, the platform was unanimously approved "for the *substance*." This convenient qualification, (which it has been found more necessary to apply to the confession of faith agreed upon in 1680) in a good degree avoids an injurious infringement of the right of private judgment, and is a necessary accommodation to the results of a laudable exercise of free investigation. On such topicks, while we reverence the wisdom and sincerity of the fathers, their deductions, however explicitly manifested, should not be too closely pressed. They had not entirely escaped the misty breath of the schools, and dialectick thorns still bristled to the view. From some of their conclusions, the modern inquirer will appeal to the high standard of truth and duty which they so profoundly evereneed; and to those, who would urge a precise re-

gard to the sentiments of antiquity, he will say, with *Samson* in the *Agonistes*,

> A little onward lend thy guiding hand,
> ——————— a little further on,
> For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade;
> There I am wont to sit———
> There I feel amends,
> The breath of heav'n fresh blowing, pure and sweet,
> With day-spring born.

Intensely as our fathers were engaged in every thing bearing relation to their religious concerns, they were not unmindful of the other important interests, necessarily emerging in every state of society, and especially urgent in their novel situation. In the transfer of the corporation to this country, they must have soon perceived the inadequacy of their charter, in its exact construction, to many of the essential requisites of a commonwealth. [H.] They did not hesitate to exercise the powers, which their situation required, and having, with so much toil and expense, provided comfortable abodes in these ends of the earth, they, in most instances, managed their affairs as an independent people; and, indeed, not unfrequently avowed principles, which would render their allegiance to the prince, whom they acknowledged, little more than nominal. [I.] They formed a representative assembly, levied taxes, erected judicatories, declared war, made treaties, established a confederate union, coined money, and carried on a diffusive commerce, with occasional checks, but no effectual interruption from the crown, until the demolition of their charter in the reign of Charles the Second. In the time of Charles the First, a fatal blow to their privileges seems to have been meditated. But affairs at home, of more pressing importance, occupied the attention of the monarch and his principal advisers, and prevented the execution of the strict and coercive scheme of colonial polity which was in contemplation. Thus, in the address of Massachusetts to Cromwell, the *poor exiles*, as they denominate themselves, in reference to their condition under their recently decapitated monarch, merely say, that they "sometimes felt and often *feared* the frowns of the

"mighty."—During the prevalence of republican sway in the parent country, New England enjoyed a brief sunshine of favour. Their commerce had peculiar indulgences, and suddenly expanded, with vigorous growth, in every direction. At the restoration they had much to apprehend; but by discretion and firmness, the ability of their agents, and the powerful interposition of transatlantick friends, they appear to have avoided any very serious interruption, until the close of that unprincipled reign, when the Massachusetts charter was vacated. [K.] Their political anxieties at that period, and in the subsequent reign, seem to have exasperated the temper of those who were then on the stage of action, and, in some measure, to have disturbed their judgment. Doubts, jealousies, and fears prevailed. That cheering and salutary confidence, which they had habitually reposed in the leading men of the state, was frequently impaired. The susceptible Norton sunk under the unmerited reproaches resulting from his agency to the English court. His associate, Mr. Bellingham, sustained the storm of censure with more firmness, and lived to witness a returning rectitude of opinion and moderation of temper among his constituents.

"Through a salutary neglect," says Mr. Burke, in reference to the American colonies, "a generous nature "was suffered to take her own way to perfection." In thus taking their own way our ancestors were sometimes thought unreasonably rigid and precise, and to have instituted exceptionable terms of admission to the privileges and immunities of their association. Time will not permit a developement of the grounds of defence with which they may be supposed to have been furnished. If the considerations suggested by *Judge Minot*,* will not constitute a complete vindication, and if, with every allowance, we must still find something to regret, the apology of the Tyrian queen to her Trojan guests, must be theirs, the pressure of circumstances, and the infant state of their government.

"Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
"Moliri——"

* Continuation of Hist. of Mass. ch. I. See also a judicious note on this subject in Dr. Holmes' American Annals. I. 380.

The few exceptionable features, which may appear to views induced by a more enlarged experience and more liberal conceptions, are of inconsiderable import when compared with the great and manifest benefits derived from the steady prosecution of their system of policy. Never, perhaps, has been exhibited a more rapid progress of society, a more successful application of those moral elements in the economy of nations, which are the best and surest sources of general felicity.

The government, though popular in its construction, was influenced in its most important operations by the wisdom, publick spirit, and foresight of superiour minds. In their extending settlements, every suitable provision was made for the maintenance of civilization and order. Activity, energy, industry, and harmonious concert animated the whole community. A happy mediocrity prevailed, equally removed from excessive opulence and the depression of poverty. A salutary and permanent diffusion of the gladsome light of literature, was, in the very infancy of the colonies, secured by the establishment of Harvard College, the child of their fondest hopes, and ever the cherished ornament of our country. A legal provision for schools, in concert with the general disposition of parents, produced an extensive inculcation of the minor branches of learning. The civilization and religious instruction of the natives was pursued with laudable assiduity. [L.] Agriculture, commerce and arts contributed to the support and comfort of a rapidly increasing population, and their achievements in war, in which they were occasionally compelled to engage, evidence their military strength, and their capacity to defend the precious possessions which they had acquired. [M.]

An affectionate and respectful remembrance of those worthies, who here laid the foundation of our multiplied enjoyments, is a debt of gratitude. We possess a goodly heritage, and it should heighten our sense of obligation to recollect, that a generous foresight was a distinguished characteristick of our ancestors. An ardent desire to lay a solid and lasting foundation for the best interests of posterity influenced all those plans of policy so expressive of

their wisdom. In every stage of their enterprize they were prompted by an enlightened humanity, and a prospective reference to the happiness of their descendants.

To contemplate the characters of such men is not less our interest than our duty, as a source of improvement.

> "Just men they were, and all their study bent
> "To worship God aright, and know his works
> "Not hid; nor those things last, which might preserve
> "Freedom and peace to man."

Their eventful story has also interesting connexions. It brings to view many elevated characters, some of them of a preceding age, whose energy of thought and manly deeds influenced the affairs of nations, and prepared the way for the settlement and civilization of a waste of wilderness. It connects with the reformation, that most interesting event in the history of modern times, which, after a night of superstition and ages of corruption, operated like a renewed revelation of religious truth.

Intimately associated with the reformation is the rise and progress of the *Puritans*. Of those despised and persecuted men, it is a remark of Hume, that "it is to this "sect, whose principles appear so frivolous, and whose "habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole free-"dom of their constitution." "We shall take the compli-"ment," says Dr. Priestley, "and despise the reflection."* There is, undoubtedly, much truth in the observation of the celebrated historian, and the tendency of religious dissent to favour the principles of liberty is sufficiently obvious. It is certain, that those principles may be studied to advantage in the history of our ancestors. Not indeed so eloquently displayed, as in the writings of a Harrington or a Sidney, but seen in practical operation, and confuting the opinions which had before prevailed, even among many of the wise, that the maxims, which they maintained, were inconsistent with publick safety, tranquillity and order. There is reason to believe, that the example of our ancestors, the sentiments and views which they inculcated, and the maxims to which they adhered, had

* Lectures on Hist. and Gen. Polity.

considerable influence in favouring the cause of liberty in England, in the continual conflict of the people with the princes of the Stuart dynasty. [N.]

It is another recommendation of a familiar acquaintance with our early history, that it tends to generate a love of country of the best complexion, and of the highest order; a love of country, chastened and improved by elevated sentiments and dignified examples. It affords, also, the means for a more perfect understanding of the character of a people, standing in connexion by descent with such foundations, and may enable the statesman and the politician to form a more just theory of society; to ascertain what measures it may be prudent to adopt, and what will probably fail of success.

It may be said, that the tree is known by its fruit, and that a consideration of the present state of society will afford a sufficient guide for political conduct. That the tree is known by its fruit, is, indeed, true, in its important moral application, and yet in a limited sense. If we would improve the quality of the fruit, or increase the product of the tree, determine what ingraftment it may receive, what pruning it demands, or what it will endure, we shall require a knowledge of something more than the fruit, an acquaintance with vegetable physiology.

The ruffled surface of society breaks, confounds and distorts the images of things; in the mirror of history, all is seen distinctly, as the smooth and peaceful lake reflects the foilage of the surrounding forest.

I will venture to suggest another consideration, which may not be unworthy the attention of the guides and guardians of youth.

If a martial spirit may be enkindled by listening to the exploits of heroes, and the student be excited to literary industry by the lives and writings of scholars and philosophers, may not the most interesting impressions be produced by a familiar acquaintance with those holy men, who were the founders of our state. When once convinced of their purity, sincerity and wisdom, may not the near relation, which we bear to them, give a salutary influence to their example, and their language and sentiments, dif-

ferent as they are from what are now current in society, afford some facilities to the reception of that sacred volume with which they were so familiar. [O.]

A recurrence to this primitive age may be further recommended, as tending to the amelioration of the heart by an innocent gratification of taste.

Antiquity has charms to sooth the imagination, and it is unnecessary to analyze the process by which the acknowledged effect is produced.

"Shall I attribute it to nature or prejudice," says Cicero, "that when we behold any of the places, which have "been frequented by personages worthy of renown, it "makes a stronger impression upon us, than the hearing "of their actions, or reading their writings;" and he introduces Piso, thus addressing his friends, while walking in the academy at Athens. "My mind is filled with "Plato, who, we understand first used to dispute in this "place. Here walks Speusippus, there Xenophon, and "there his auditor, Polemo; and, indeed, when I used "to lŏok around our senate-house, I mean that of Hostili-"us, not the new one, which seems to be lessened by its "enlargement, I had Scipio, Cato, Lælius, but above "all, my grandsire before my eyes."*

This is the language of nature, and every well disposed mind accords to the sentiment. What classick reader has not been sensibly touched, when Virgil's shepherds, in their rural walk, discern the tomb of Bianor appearing in distant prospect.

We have but few sepulchral monuments of our ancestors; but when familiar with their history, and fortunately it is most minute, this metropolis, its hills, harbour and islands, the river which laves its shores, and every neighbouring village, will bring their revered images to view. On the spot where we are now assembled, we may behold Johnson, at a little distance, Cotton, at the governour's garden, the revered Winthrop, at Charlestown, Harvard, at Cambridge, Hooker, at Dorchester, Warham and Maverick, at Roxbury, Dudley and the venerable Eliot. [P.]

* De fin. bon. et mal. Lib. V.

To contemplate this fair theatre of their transactions, in its wild and savage state, presents many interesting representations ; but how is the scene brightened and adorned by the features which civilization and refinement annex to the picture. The busy town and the rural cottage, the lowing herd, the cheerful hearth, the village school, the rising spire, the solemn bell, the voice of prayer, and the hymn of praise. Simplicity, purity, and all the multiplied ingredients of human happiness seize on the fancy and harmonize with our best affections. From associations of this description, the painter and the poet have derived their happiest conceptions. The mighty mind of Milton could build on chaos, and travel through the universe like a seraph ; but, generally, the finest and most durable performances of poetick genius have been prompted by domestick scenery, and animated by a reference to characters, objects and events, not so familiar as to have become insipid, nor so remote as to be destitute of interest.

It may be reserved for some native master, or, perhaps, some mistress of the lyre, to give a happy confirmation to these suggestions.

It is a most interesting use of history, to bring to view the conduct of Divine Providence in the direction of human affairs. Among the events in the history of the world evidencing the benevolent purposes of the Deity, there are many which have occurred in the settlement and progress of our country. We cannot be ignorant with what strength this sentiment was impressed on the minds of our fathers. The greatest caution, says a profound and pious writer, is requisite in our researches on this subject. I tread on hallowed ground, and, knowing the precision of thought and accuracy of inquiry which such a topick demands, I shall readily obtain your excuse for confining myself, on this occasion, to the mere suggestion of a sentiment, the truth of which is indubitable and of high importance.

Such, gentlemen, are the considerations which I have ventured to connect with the subject, which it has been your pleasure to call into notice by this appointment.

In determining on a publick discourse before your Society on this day, you evince a generous recollection of men of little note in the times in which they lived, but now held in deserved estimation. You have placed in your museum, as valued memorials, their utensils, their arms, and their trophies, and, by this celebration, now give a renewed and more emphatick expression of the reverence with which you regard them. These are honours, which those lowly men could not have anticipated, and which, if they can now attract their notice, they would not lightly esteem. Those, who were born and nurtured around the cradle of New England, may be disposed to imagine themselves authorized by the departed pilgrims to tender to you their acknowledgments for this distinction.

It is not every nation that would willingly scrutinize into their origin, and exhibit the lineaments of their progenitors with fidelity and truth. The converted Anglo-Saxons, we are told, remembered the practices of their ancestors with too much abhorrence to record them for the notice of future ages.* Happily we labour under no such embarrassment.

It is the object of your Society to collect and preserve, and to diffuse by publication, such documents and writings as relate to the history of our country. In the execution of this employment, none will question your faithful regard to the duties imposed by the nature of your institution. The Collections of this Society bear honourable evidence of assiduous research, and the separate publications of some of your associates have long been distinguished. I shall mention only those, who are departed. From SULLIVAN, the first president of this society, we have the History of Maine, and are gratified, that his active mind, amidst his multiplied occupations, was led to a subject from many causes involved in perplexity. BELKNAP gave to his country a finished work in the History of New Hampshire, and we have never ceased to regret, that his American Biography could not receive the completion which he intended. A portion of the modern history of Massachusetts was sketched with dignity and grace by the hand of MINOT. It is grateful to have left to us by

* Turner's Hist. Angl. Sax.

EMERSON the History of the Ancient Church with which he was connected; and our Collections are enriched with some valued productions from the pen of the venerable LINCOLN. [Q.] The humbler labours of a PEMBERTON deserve acknowledgment, and we can never forget how much we owe to him, who was last taken from our circle.

I remember once accompanying a respected stranger to visit an ancient cemetry in this metropolis, and observing a plain tablet bearing for an inscription simply the name of MATHER. We were conducted by one, who now sleeps within the same inclosure, and on the stone marking the place of his interment will be seen the name of ELIOT. It is sufficient. It points to men eminent in the church, and among the lettered ornaments of our country; to us it presents the cherished image of one, who was the pride of our Society, the delight of his friends. Cheerful and serene was the happy tenour of his life, filled with active industry, warmed with benevolence, animated with piety. The memory of the fathers to him was precious. He illustrated their history with just discrimination, and will ever remain associated with their remembrance.

When deprived of a fellow-labourer so industrious and able, it will require the augmented exertions of survivors to repair the loss, and to accomplish the laudable objects of the Society. A stated literary exercise, affording opportunity for the discussion of interesting historical topicks, may be considered as an useful and pleasing appendage to your customary publications. Of such topicks there is an abundant variety, and if they should be annually assigned for this anniversary, there can be no apprehension of an uninteresting iteration. You are not pledged, however, in regard to any future celebration of this memorable day, and it is not for me to anticipate your determinations. Whether the repetition be uninterrupted or occasional, the character of the Society gives sufficient assurance, that decorous and instructive lessons will be uniformly inculcated, promotive of that intelligence, which is honourable to a nation, and the healing sentiments of mutual kindness and good-will.

NOTES.

[A. P. iv.] THE quotations in the text are from the "*Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles*, by Captain *John Smith*," published in London, 1627. In book VII. he observes, "That part we call *New-England*, is betwixt the degrees of forty one and forty five; but that part this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from Penobscot to Cape Cod, some seventy five leagues by a right line distant from each other: within which bounds I have seen at least fortie severall habitations upon the sea-coast, and sounded about five and twentie excellent good harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred sail of ships of any burden, in some of them for one thousand; and more than two hundred isles, overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as required a longer time than I had to be well observed."—"Surely by reason of those sandy clifts, and clifts of rocks, both which we saw so planted with gardens and corn-fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatness of the timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of five and forty not a man was sicke, but two that were many years diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approve this a most excellent place both for health and fertilitie; and of all the four parts of the world I have yet seen uninhabited, could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than any where, and if it did not maintaine itselfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted let us starve."

According to Dr. Robertson, History of America, Book X. this territory was named *New England* by Prince Charles; but it appears, by Smith's account, that this name was given by himself, and that when he presented his discourse with the map, his highness, at his entreaty, changed the barbarous names of some of the places for English names. Of these he gives a list. Cape Tragabigzanda, so called by Smith in grateful remembrance of a Turkish princess, from whom he had received kindness in his youth, the prince named *Cape Ann*, in honour of his mother; Massachusetts River he called Charles River, and to Accomack he gave the name of Plymouth. Of twenty nine names given by the prince, only those three remain. It is evident by the map, that *Accomack* and *Plymouth* correspond; but, when our ancestors arrived there, they were informed by Samoset, that the place was called *Patuxet*. This difference cannot now be explained. Perhaps the natives occasionally changed the names of places, as it is known they frequently did those of persons.

Mulberries are mentioned by Smith among the wild fruits of Massachusetts. He probably had reference to some of the raspberries or blackberries abundant in the country. Only one species of mulberry, *(morus rubra,)* is indigenous in North America, and it is not known, that it has been found in Massachusetts.

[B. P. v.] The *solemn contract*, signed at Cape Harbour, Nov. 11, 1620, (O. S.) appears in Mourt's Relation, Purchas, Morton, and several subsequent publications.

Mr. Prince gives a correct list of the subscribers, with their titles and the number in their respective families, copied from Governour Bradford's manuscript history. That manuscript is unfortunately lost. It was deposited in the library in the tower of the Old South Church, in Boston, and was not to be found after the siege, at the commencement of the revolutionary war. I insert the interesting catalogue, as given by Mr. Prince. The names thus marked (†) are of those, who brought their wives with them. Those, who died before the end of the next March, are distinguished by an asterism. Three of the company, Samuel Fuller, Richard Warren and Francis Cook left their wives either in England or Holland. They probably afterward came over, as their husbands remained in the settlement. Governour Bradford, as Mr. Prince observes, modestly omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.

Mr. John Carver†	8	*James Chilton†	3
William Bradford†	2	*John Crackston	2
Mr. Edward Winslow†	5	John Billington†	4
Mr. William Brewster†	6	*Moses Fletcher	1
Mr. Isaac Allerton†	6	*John Goodman	1
Capt. Miles Standish†	2	*Degory Priest	1
John Alden	1	*Thomas Williams	1
Mr. Samuel Fuller	2	Gilbert Winslow	1
*Mr. Christopher Martin†	4	*Edward Margeson	1
*Mr. William Mullins†	5	Peter Brown	1
*Mr. William White†	5	*Richard Britterige	1
Mr. Richard Warren	1	George Soule	
John Howland of Gov. Carver's family.		of E. Winslow's family.	
Mr. Stephen Hopkins†	8	*Richard Clarke	1
*Edward Tilly†	4	Richard Gardiner	1
*John Tilly†	3	*John Allerton	1
Francis Cook	2	*Thomas English	1
*Thomas Rogers	2	Edward Dotey	
*Thomas Tinker†	3	Edward Leister	
*John Ridgdale†	3	Both of Stephen Hopkins' family.	
*Edward Fuller†	3		
*John Turner	3		101
Francis Eaton†	3		

New England Chronology, 85.

From the same accurate compiler we collect the following bill of mortality to the end of March, when the fatal sickness, with which they were visited, subsided.

Deaths in December,	. . . .	6
January	. . . .	8
February	. . . .	17
March	. . . .	13
		44

This number comprizes, of subscribers to the civil compact 21

Dorothy, wife of W. Bradford		
Rose, wife of Capt. Standish		4
Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton		
Elizabeth, wife of Edward Winslow		
Women, children and servants, whose names are not known		19
		44

[C. P. viii.] This remark is more applicable to Massachusetts than to Plymouth Colony. "The Jury," says Governour Hutchinson, "sometimes gave their verdict, that there were strong grounds of suspicion, but not sufficient evidence to convict. The court would give sentence upon this verdict, and punish for many offences, which, by the evidence upon trial, the party appeared to them to have been guilty of, although he was not convicted of the particular crime he was charged with. *Secundum allegata et probata* was a rule of proceeding to which they did not confine themselves." He adds in a note, "Mr. Hinkley, governour of Plymouth, writing to Mr. Stoughton for advice, in 1681, he answers him, *the testimony you mention against the prisoner, I think is sufficient to convict him; but in case your jury should not be of that mind, then, if you hold yourselves strictly obliged by the laws of England, no other verdict but not guilty can be brought in; but according to our practice in this jurisdiction, we should punish him with some grievous punishment, according to the demerit of his crime, though not found capital.*"

Hist. of Mass. I. 401.

[D. P. viii.] The great body of settlers, under Governour Winthrop, arrived in 1630, but the foundation of the colony must be referred to the establishment made by Mr. Endicott and his small company, at Salem, in 1628. In the number of emigrants, and of the ships employed in transporting them, mentioned in the discourse, a slight deviation from exactness is indulged for the sake of an expression in round numbers. In re-

gard to the period, within which this transportation was effected, I am convinced, that five years more should be added. Hutchinson, indeed, says, that the importation of settlers ceased in 1640. He inserts the number which had arrived as expressed by Johnson, "since which," he adds, "more persons have removed out of New-England to other parts of the world, than have come from other parts to it." The Rev. Dr. Holmes, in his annals, following Josselyn, places this estimate, with some indecision, three years earlier, 1637. If Johnson is to be regarded, these dates are too early. "In the transportation of these armies of the great Jehova, for fifteene years space to the year 1643, about which time England began to endeavour after reformation, and the souldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battells at home, for whose assistance, some of the chiefe worthies of Christ returned back, the number of ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed, is 298. Men, women and children passing over this wide ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21200, or thereabout."*

In his thirteenth chapter he gives an estimate of the expenses of the enterprize, "which, should they have cast up beforehand," he observes, "the most strongest of faith among them would certainly have staggered much and very hardly have set saile."

"The passage of the persons, &c. . . .	95000
"The swine, goates, sheepe, neate and horse . .	12000
"Getting food for all persons, for the time till they could bring the woods to tillage, . . .	45000
"Nayles, glasse and other iron worke for their meeting-houses and dwelling houses, before they could raise any meanes in the country to purchase them	18000
"Armes, powder, bullet and match, together with their great artillery	22000
	192000*l.*

"Beside that which the adventurers laid out in England, which was a small pittance compared with this." To this is to be added, as Hutchinson suggests, the price of their patent given to the council of Plymouth, and payments made to the sachems of the country. "Well might they complain," he remarks, "when their titles to their lands were called in question by Sir Edmund Andross; their labour in clearing and improving them was of more value than the lands after they were improved, and this other expense might be out of the question."

* Wond. Work. Prov. 31.

[E. P. ix.] The lady Arabella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, was the wife of Mr. Isaac Johnson, one of the assistants. She came (says Mr. Hubbard,) from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants; and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and, in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed."

John Humphrey, chosen deputy governour, at the second meeting of the company in England, married the lady Susan, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. He arrived with his family in 1632, and was immediately chosen an assistant. He settled at Lynn, but afterward, having met with great losses by fire, and his estate being much impaired, he sold his plantation and returned to England.—*Hutch. Hist. Mass. I.* 21.

There were several other ladies of distinction, who, with laudable resolution, encountered the perils and hardships of commencing an establishment in this country. Samuel Whiting, first minister of Lynn, married a daughter of Oliver St. John. John Shearman, minister of Watertown, married a granddaughter of the Earl of Rivers.

The instances of female magnanimity, which adorn our early history, remind us of the memorable address, made by the lady of P. Arias, who was appointed Governour of Darien, in 1514, by Ferdinand King of Spain. It is recorded by Peter Martyr in his second Decade. Part of it is subjoined in the translation of Richard Eden, made in the reign of queen Mary I.

"She, following the magnanimitie of her aunt, perceiving her husband now furnishing himselfe to depart to the unknown coastes of the new world, and those large tractes of land and sea, spake these words unto him: My deare and well beloved husbande, we ought not now to forget that from our young yeares we have been joyned together with the yoke of holy matrimonie, to the intent that we should so live togeather and not asunder, duryng the tyme of our natural life; wherefore, for my part, to declare my affection herein, you shal understande, that whithersoever your fatall destinie shall dryve you, eyther by the furious waves of the great ocean, or by the manyfolde and horrible daungers of the lande, I wyl surely beare you company. There can no peryll chaunce to me so terrible, nor any kynde of death so cruell, that shal not be much easyer for me to abyde, than to live so farre separate from you. It were much better for me to dye, and eyther to be cast into the sea, to be devoured of the fyshes, or on the land to the canibales, than with continual mourning and bewayling, to live in death and dye lyving, whyle I consume in lookyng rather for my husbandes letters than for himselfe. This is my ful determination, not rashly, nor presently excogitate, nor conceived by the light

phantasye of woman's brayne, but with long deliberation and good advisement."

"We have had advertisement," adds the historian, "since their departure," that she (being brought up, as it were, among soft fethers*) hath with no less stout courage susteyned the roarings and rages of the ocean, than did eyther her husbande or any of the maryners brought up even among the sourges of the sea.

[F. P. ix.] In the arrangement of the twelve first churches in Massachusetts, I follow Johnson, (*Wonder Working Providence.*) It has been doubted, whether the order of succession, as given by this writer, be correct. "If the First Church at Boston," says Dr. Holmes, "be considered as translated in its organized state, from Charlestown to Shawmut, it was the *second* church gathered in Massachusetts; if as a *new* and distinct church, from the time of its division, it was the *seventh*."† In the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. X. 314, Boston First Church is accordingly placed as the seventh, and Watertown as the sixth. This disposition supposes, that the time of the formal separation, October 14, 1632, must be assumed as the earliest date of the Church at Boston, previously to which six other Churches had been organized. Johnson, in placing Boston as the *fourth*, probably had reference to the time, when so large a portion of the congregation had removed from Charlestown to Shawmut, that religious worship was attended on the south side of the river. The Rev. Dr. Kendall, in a note to his Century Sermon, delivered at Weston, Jan. 12, 1813, contends, that Watertown Church is coeval with that of Charlestown, and even that it has claims to priority, and to be considered the next after that of Salem. His conclusions are supported by critical research, but are not entirely satisfactory. It is doubtful, whether Watertown Church can be considered as constituted by the covenant, signed at Charlestown, July 30, 1630. That instrument appears to have more extensive reference: and it will be difficult to admit Dr. Kendall's position, though ingeniously argued, that the date of the formation of Charlestown Church, must be postponed to August 27, of the same year. That was the day of Mr. Wilson's ordination; but according to Mr. Prince, who is not to be disregarded, but on full evidence, and who quotes his authorities, the church was formed July 30. In regard to the objection, that it would require at least *seven* to constitute a church, and that only *four* are mentioned as entering into church covenant at Charlestown, on the thirtieth of July, it does not appear, that this refinement occurred, or was considered valid by Mr. Wilson, who was one

* Molli pluma (ut est in proverbio) educatam—

† Amer. Ann. I. 267.

of the *four;* and on the next Lord's day August 1, "five more," says Mr. Prince, "join the church at Charlestown—who, with others, quickly added, chose Mr. Wilson for their pastor."

It is not easy to determine, why the church at Roxbury is placed by Johnson at an earlier date, than that of Watertown. Mr. Eliot was the first minister of Roxbury. He did not come into the country until November, 1631, and more than a year before that time Mr. Phillips is mentioned, in Winthrop's Journal, as the minister of Watertown.

[G. P. ix.) The enumeration of churches is taken from Dr. Cotton Mather's *Hecatomptolis*, or Ecclesiastical Map of the Country in 1696, (Magn. I. 27.) of which the following is a summary.

		Number of Churches.	Vacant
Plymouth Colony			
County of Plymouth		7	1
Barnstable		6	
Bristol		6	2
		19	
Martha's Vineyard		2	
Rhode Island		1	
Massachusetts			
Suffolk	15		
Middlesex	21		3
Essex	20		1
Hampshire	8		2
	—	64	
New Hampshire		5	
Maine		3	2
Connecticut			
County of Hartford	12		
„ N. London	9		1
„ N. Haven	6		
„ Fairfield	9		
	—	36	
		130	12

An Episcopal church, a Baptist congregation, and a congregation of French Protestants in Boston are not included in the enumeration, nor the Indian churches in the several colonies. To supply the abovementioned churches, there were 123 pastors; two of the churches in Boston, and those in Andover, Ipswich and Salem having two. Dr. Mather has designated, by an appropriate mark, all that were educated at Harvard College, and the number of that description is 106.

[H. P. xi.] During the solicitations for a restoration of the old charter of Massachusetts, after the revolution in England, Mr. Hampden, a zealous friend to the colony, requested the opinion of Mr. Hooke, a counsellor of eminence, which is inserted in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Vol. I. 363. 'Should they have their charter," says Mr. Hooke, "they would want,

1. Power to call a parliament, or select assembly; for there many thousand freemen have thereby an equal right to sit in their general assembly.

2. Power to lay taxes and raise money, especially on inhabitants not being of the company, and strangers coming to, or trading thither.

3. They have not any admiralty.

4. Nor have they any power to keep a prerogation court, prove wills, &c.

5. Nor to erect courts of judicature, especially chancery courts."

[I. P. xi.] Mr. Hooke, in the opinion abovementioned, proceeds to observe, "the deficiency of their charter appears from their practice, having used the aforesaid powers without any grant," and he proceeds to specify instances in which they had exercised their charter powers, otherwise than the charter directed.

In 1661 a large and respectable committee was appointed by the General Court, to consider and debate such matter or thing of publick concernment, touching the patent, laws, privileges and duty to his majesty, as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient." The report is in the appendix to Hutchinson's history, Vol. I. It treats of their liberties and their duties of allegiance, and contains a frank and manly avowal of the political theory, which they maintained. The new and difficult questions, involved in the discussion, were met with ability and firmness. They are already hardened into republicks," said the earl of Clarendon in the draught of his plan for sending over commissioners in 1664, quoted by Governour Pownal from a manuscript copy, in one of his publications on American affairs.

An able and eloquent display of the great movements in human affairs, which led to the peopling of this part of America, and of the characters, principles and views of those who accomplished it, will be found in a Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, written by the Hon. John Adams, and published in Boston in the year 1765.

[K. P. xii.] Among the distinguished friends of New-England, were the family of Ashurst and Hampden, Sir Robert Boyle, and, in earlier times, Lord Say and Seale and Lord Brook; the two last had thoughts of removing to this country in 1635;

at the time when Mr. Pym, Sir Arthur Haselrig and Oliver Cromwell, indicated a similar intention, but were prevented by express order of the king.

The dispositions with which our ancestors were regarded, by an ingenuous mind, is manifested in the introduction to Mr. Hooke's opinion on the subject of the charter, mentioned in the preceding note. He speaks of "two parties which solicit the affairs of New-England;" one of them was desirous of bringing the whole territory under a captain general to govern by commission from the king, without any respect to former charters. In opposition to this party, Mr. Hooke emphatically pronounces and commends the character and conduct of the colonists, "who have maintained civility," he observes, "beyond any other people on earth."

In the appendix to the history of the early part of the reign of James II. by the late Mr. Fox, is preserved a letter from Barillon to Louis 14th, which discloses the debates in the privy council, after the charter was vacated in 1684, relative to the powers to be given to Colonel Kirk, appointed governour of New-England by Charles II. Lord Halifax, it appears, resolutely and generously contended against the infliction of an arbitrary goverment on the colonists, and that the rights and privileges of Englishmen should be fully extended to them. It is not to be supposed that the affairs of New-England were of any interest to the French embassador. This information was communicated to his sovereign, as affording some ground of expectation, that Lord Halifax, who had urged sentiments so ungrateful to the king and his favourites, would soon be displaced.

Mr. Fox makes a more interesting application of the incident. "There is something curious," says he, "in discovering, that even at this early period, a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly, or adverse, to arbitrary power at home. But the truth is, that among the several controversies which have arisen, there is no other wherein the natural rights of man, on the one hand, and the authority of artificial institution on the other, as applied respectively, by the whigs and tories to the English constitution, are so fairly put in issue, nor by which the line of separation between the two parties is so strongly and distinctly marked."

[L. P. xiii.] A corporation, in England, for propagating the gospel among the Indians, commenced a correspondence with the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, in 1650. The commissioners were employed as agents for the corporation, during the continuance of the union. The exertions in this humane and laudable undertaking were attended with considerable success, of which a full and interesting account, written by Daniel Gookin, may be seen in Historical Collections, Vol. I.

[M. P. xiii .]Our ancestors were distinguished for their attention to military affairs, a spirit which has uniformly prevailed among their descendants. It is recorded, that Mr. Wilson, the first minister of Boston, gave 1000*l.* to the colony, for the purchase of artillery. In a narrative of the first thirty years by *Old Planters*, a military display at Fox Hill is described, in language more lofty than perspicuous. It probably has reference to the muster of "the two regiments of the Bay," in May, 1639, at Boston, mentioned in Winthrop's Journal. The number of soldiers was one thousand "able men, and well armed and exercised. They were headed, the one by the governour, who was general of all, and the other by the deputy, who was colonel. The captains, &c. shewed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they spent the whole day."

Their courage and skill were put to a severe test, in some of their contests with the natives, especially in the war with the Pequots in 1637, and in the more arduous and protracted conflict with Philip, which commenced in 1675.

[N. P. xv.] Referring to the commencement of the plantations, the *Old Planters*, in the narrative abovementioned, observe, "A letter then from New England, and for a considerable time after, was venerated as a sacred script, or as the writing of some holy prophets; it was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it." The writer, indeed, intends merely to express the religious interest which was excited; but there is reason to believe, that an influence of a political impression was also promoted by their opinions and example.

Mr. Prince exposes the temporizing conduct exhibited by many in the reign of Elizabeth.* To this, the magnanimous self-denial, which was evidenced, on the severe application of the act of uniformity in 1662, is a memorable contrast. That signal display of integrity and adherence to conviction, may, in part, be attributed to the firmness and consistency, which had been exhibited by the New England exiles. Several of the ejected clergymen, under that oppressive act, and many of their people, emigrated to this country.

[O. P. xvi.]In any application of the writings of the New England ancients, to the purposes suggested in the text, some discrimination will be requisite, or the object in view may be defeated, and, indeed, impressions of an opposite character produced. The early writers will, it is apprehended, be found preferable to many of the next generation, and to some of a later period. The simple, unaffected manner of Winslow, Bradford, Winthrop, Dudley and Gookin, give their writings a

* N. E. Chronol. 226, 227.

superiority to the Wonder Working Providence, the Old Planter's Narrative, and the Magnalia.

Oldmixon, in his *British Empire in America*, published in 1708, is particularly severe on the Magnalia, its puns, anagrams, acrosticks and prodigies. With all its faults, there are few American scholars, who would not wish to possess the work, for the body of facts which it contains. The sarcastick Oldmixon does not confine himself to Dr. Mather, but remarks on "the poverty and tautology of the New England diction" at that period. "Let their own Dr. Bates," he observes, "instruct them better in his best pieces, if they think themselves too pious to learn of our Tillotson and Calamy."

Should Oldmixon's general remark be thought in any degree well founded, if we may confide in the opinion of Jeremy Dummer, who was a man of refined taste and a thorough scholar, some of the New-England clergy made rapid improvement. Mr. Flint had requested some of the single sermons, occasionally published in England, to be transmitted to him. Mr. Dummer executed the commission, and in his letter from London, of May 5, 1711, says, "I hope they will please you, though I must own to you, that I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little dignity in the matter, or brightness in the style. I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses, which Mr. Brattle gives you every week."—*Hist. Coll. VI.* 79.

The diction of New-England sermons, the principal publications of early times, appears sensibly improved in the performances of the Rev. Dr. Colman and Ebenezer Pemberton of Boston, and J. Barnard of Marblehead. Of the present state of that species of composition, it is not my purpose particularly to remark. It is believed, that many modern productions, of that description, will sustain a comparison with the most approved transatlantick specimens.

[P. P. xvi.] Mr. Isaac Johnson died September, 30, 1630, at Boston. "He was buried, at his own request, in part of the ground upon Trimontain, or Boston, which he had chosen for his lot, the square between School Street and Queen Street. He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him, and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial, what is now called the old burying place, adjoining to King's Chapel."—*Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. I.* 22. *note.*

Speaking of Sir Henry Vane, Hutchinson subjoins the following note. "A small house, which he lived in, at the side of the hill above Queen Street, he gave to Mr. Cotton, who made an addition to it after Mr. Vane went away, and lived and died there." This house is still standing, but, from recent repairs, marks of antiquity are not externally visible.

Governour's Island was the property of Governour Winthrop, and has never been alienated from the family. It was called, in early times, the Governour's Garden. Josselyn, who was here in 1638, says, the first apple trees in the country were planted on that island, and a vineyard. The founder of Harvard College might very properly have been located at Cambridge. But he lived and died in Charlestown.

[Q. P. xix.] Of the deceased members of the Society, mentioned in the discourse, memoirs will be found in the Collections, excepting of the late General Lincoln. Biographical notices of that excellent man were expected for the first volume of the second series; but they were not completed in season to be introduced. They will appear in the next volume.

THE following Hymn, composed for the occasion by a gentleman at Cambridge, was sung at the close of the celebration.

1 GOD OF THE WORLD! on thy decree
Hang life, and fame, and destiny.
THOU speak'st—aw'd ocean yields and deserts smile;
THOU speak'st—and ruin mocks pride's prostrate pile.

2 In THEE the weak, the humble, trust;
And trampled power adores in dust.
Thy name we bless—invoke, in evil hour,
Forgotten mercy and resisted power.

3 By THEE, our *Fathers* dar'd to brave
Mid savage man a foreign grave:
Their march THOU marshal'dst o'er the pathless sea,
Who fled for freedom, and who fled to THEE.

4 Where peep'd the hut, the palace towers;
Where skimm'd the bark, the war-ship lowers:
Joy gaily carols where was silence rude;
And cultur'd thousands throng the solitude.

5 O THOU who tam'st the *savage* soul,
Of *Christian* man the lusts control:
Ne'er may this happiest spot, thy favour'd clime,
The abode of mercy, be the abode of crime!

6 Thy grace we'll seek, thine anger shun:
GOD of the *Sire*, protect the *Son!*
Thy smile, thy frown, we own: subdue our pride;
The *Pilgrims'* GUARDIAN be the *Nation's* GUIDE!

Erratum.—P. xv, l. 23, for *foilage*, read *foliage*.

THE ACT OF INCORPORATION, LAWS, CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS, OFFICERS, &c. AND CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-four.

An Act to incorporate a Society, by the name of THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States is a desirable object, and the institution of a Society for those purposes will be of publick utility:

Be it therefore enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That William Baylies, Esq. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. the Rev. Alden Bradford, Peleg Coffin, Esq. Manasseh Cutler, L L. D. John Davis, Esq. Daniel Davis, Esq. Aaron Dexter, Doctor in Physic, the Rev. John Eliot, Nathaniel Freeman, Esq. the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Isaac Lothrop, Esq. George Richards Minot, Esq. the Rev. John Mellen, jun. Thomas Pemberton, William Dandridge Peck, the Rev. John Prince, Ezekiel Price, Esq. James Sullivan, Esq. David Sewall, Esq. Peter Thacher, D. D. William Tudor, Esq. Samuel Turell, Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq. James Winthrop, Esq. Thomas Wallcut, Redford Webster, and William Wetmore, Esq. who have associated for the purposes aforesaid, and have requested an Act of Incorporation; be, and hereby are formed into and constituted a Society and Body Politic and Corporate, by the name of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; and that they, and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be and continue a Body Politic and Corporate, by that name for ever.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, and all other necessary officers; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change, and renew at pleasure; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a Body Politic and Corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society shall have power to make orders and bye-laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth; and may expel, disfranchise and suspend any member, who, by his misconduct, shall be rendered unworthy.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate, by gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey: *Provided,* That the annual income of any real estate, by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of five hundred pounds; and that the personal estate thereof, besides books, papers, and articles in the Museum of said Society shall never exceed the value of two thousand pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the members of said Society, shall never be more than sixty (except honorary members, residing without the limits of this Commonwealth) and that James Sullivan, Esq. be, and he hereby is authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society; and that the same Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and may have power to adjourn from time to time, as may be found necessary.

And be it further enacted, That either branch of the Legislature shall, and may have free access to the Library and Museum of said Society.

This Act passed February 19, 1794.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Article I. EACH resident member shall pay *eight dollars* at the time of his admission, and *two dollars* annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall, at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer thirty-four dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

Art. II. If any person elected shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprized of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any resident member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of three years after it shall have become due, or shall neglect to attend six successive quarterly meetings of the Society, he shall forfeit his right to its privileges and shall no longer be considered as a member thereof, unless he shall send his excuse to one of the Secretaries in writing, and the same shall be judged reasonable by the Society. Each member, at his election, shall be furnished with an attested copy of this article.

Art. III. All elections shall be made by ballot. Nominations of corresponding members may be made by the members of the Society; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Art. IV. There shall be four stated meetings of the Society in each year; namely, on the last Thursdays of January, April, and October, and on the day before Commencement at Harvard College. And occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification, by the President, or in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

Art. V. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April, a President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet Keeper, and a Standing Committee of five.

Art. VI. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for farther

consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

Art. VII. All accounts shall be kept in dollars and cents.

Art. VIII. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and the election of members.

Art. IX. No alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society shall be made, unless there are eight members present; and no member shall be chosen unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

Art. X. Members who are chosen in other states and countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

Art. XI. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in two, at least, of the Boston newspapers; and the Recording Secretary shall also send notifications of the same to every member whose usual residence is within ten miles of Boston.

LAWS, REGULATING THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Article I. All nominations of resident members shall be made by the President and Standing Committee, at one meeting, at least, previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Art. II. The Standing Committee shall regulate all the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

Art. III. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

Art. IV. They shall frequently inspect the records, and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude. The names of members in the records shall be in alphabetical order.

Art. V. They shall inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

Art. VI. They shall meet previous to each stated quarterly meeting of the Society, and arrange and prepare such business as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The President shall notify the Standing Committee of their stated meetings.

LAWS, REGULATING THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

Article I. ALL books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

Art. II. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves, in the best part of the cabinet.

Art. III. At every quarterly meeting, a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet Keeper: and every member shall in person, if present, and in writing, if absent, give an account of the books and manuscripts, or whatever article belonging to the Society, he may have in his possession.

Art. IV. Once in every year, previous to the spring meeting, the Standing Committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

Art. V. There shall be two keys to the Society's room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian, and the other by the Cabinet Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

Art. VI. No book shall be taken from the library, but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same. A member shall not have more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. He shall not retain any volume longer than

four weeks, but may renew the same once; after which the same person shall not have the same books for three months, unless by special leave of the Standing Committee. Members living more than ten miles from Boston may renew their books without personal application. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian.

Art. VII. The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library, with the knowledge of the Librarian, as many books and papers as they may want.

Art. VIII. Newspapers and maps shall not be allowed to be taken out of the library, except by the Publishing Committee.

Art. IX. Fines for a breach of the sixth article shall be at the weekly rate of 10 cents for every book less than an octavo, 20 for an octavo, 30 for a quarto, and 40 for a folio.

Art. X. An application in writing, left with the Librarian, shall secure any volume or set for a fortnight after it may be returned to the library; and if more than one such application be made, they shall be answered in the order of their respective dates.

Art. XI. If books or manuscripts be requested for publick uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of some member, who shall be responsible in a written obligation, for the return of each article borrowed, within such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months.

Art. XII. All persons who take books from the library, shall be answerable for any injury to the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

Art. XIII. The privilege of using the library shall be suspended, as respects the person who neglects to pay any fines, or assessments for damages, longer than one month after he shall have received notice from the Librarian.

Art. XIV. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to attend at the library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at 3 o'clock, for the accommodation of the members. And it is under-

stood and expected, that the members will regulate themselves accordingly.

Art. XV. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates, which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

Art. XVI. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

Art. XVII. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next meeting of the Society.

Art. XVIII. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor, if it be a present.

True copy of the Laws of the Historical Society,
1 *January* 1813.

JOSEPH MCKEAN, *Recording Secretary.*

ALPHABETICAL LISTS

OF THE RESIDENT AND THE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Those with * prefixed have died—those with † have resigned, &c.

Names.	*Residence.*	*Time of Election.*	*Decease, Resignation, &*
Hon. John Adams, LL.D.	Quincy	31 July, 1800	
Hon. John Q. Adams, LL. D.	Boston	27 April, 1802	
Joseph Allen, Esq.	Worcester	7 Sept. 1808	
Rev. John Allyn,	Duxbury	29 Octo. 1799	
Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D.	Charlestown	24 April, 1798	
Hon. William Baylies, M. D.	Dighton	Original member ‖	
*Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D.	Boston	Do.	20 June, 1798
Rev. William Bentley,	Salem	25 Mar. 1796	
Alden Bradford, Esq.	Boston	8 Jan. 1793	
Capt. Gamaliel Bradford,	Do.	31 Octo. 1797	
Rev. John Bradford,	Roxbury	30 Jan. 1798	
*Thomas Brattle, Esq.	Cambridge	25 April, 1797	13 Aug. 180
*Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster,	Boston	25 April, 1811	9 June, 181
Charles Bulfinch, Esq.	Do.	10 Octo. 1801	
Elisha Clap, A. M.	Boston	29 Octo. 1812	
*Rev. John Clarke, D. D.	Do.	26 Jan. 1796	2 April, 179
*Hon. Peleg Coffin, Esq.	Nantucket	13 Aug. 1792	Mar. 180
Mr. Joseph Coolidge, jun.	Boston	25 April, 1811	
Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D.	Hamilton	29 May, 1792	
Hon. John Davis, Esq.	Boston	24 Octo. 1791	
Hon Daniel Davis, Esq.	Do.	29 May, 1792	
Mr. Samuel Davis,	Plymouth	30 Jan. 1812	
†Elias Haskett Derby, Esq.	Salem	28 April, 1801	180
Aaron Dexter, M. D.	Boston	29 May, 1792	
Rev. John Eliot, D. D.	Boston	Original member	
*Rev. William Emerson.	Do.	13 July, 1801	12 May, 181

‖ *The first meeting was held 24 Jan.* 1791. *Present, Rev. J. Belknap, J. Eliot and J. Freeman, J. Sullivan, Esq. Rev. Mr. Thacher, W. Tudor, Esq. Mr. Walcutt, and J. Winthrop, Esq.*

Names.	*Residence.*	*Time of Election.*	*Decease, Resignation, &c.*
*William Fiske, Esq.	Waltham	25 April, 1797	13 Aug. 1803.
Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D. D.	Williamstown	30 Octo. 1798	
Rev. James Freeman, D. D.	Boston	Original member	
Nathaniel Freeman, Esq.	Sandwich	23 Octo. 1792	25 Octo. 1808.
Caleb Gannett, Esq.	Cambridge	31 Octo. 1797	
Hon. Christopher Gore, LL.D.	Waltham	30 Jan. 1798	
Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris,	Dorchester	13 Aug. 1792	
†Stephen Higginson, jun. Esq.	Boston	25 Jan. 1803	25 Aug. 1812.
Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.	Cambridge	24 April, 1798	
Rev. Jonathan Homer,	Newton	30 April, 1799	
Hon. Daniel Kilham,	Wenham	24 April, 1798	
Rev. J. T. Kirkland, D.D.LL.D.	Cambridge	26 Jan. 1796	
*Hon. Benjamin Lincoln,	Hingham	19 July, 1798	May, 1810.
*Isaac Lothrop, Esq.	Plymouth	11 Octo. 1791	July, 1808.
Rev. Joseph McKean,	Cambridge	7 Sept. 1808	
John Mellen, Esq.	Do.	23 Octo. 1792	
*Geo. Richards Minot, Esq.	Boston	Original member	2 Jan. 1802.
Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D.	Charlestown	26 Jan. 1796	
Ebenezer Parsons, Esq.	Boston	31 Jan. 1797	
Wm. Dandridge Peck, A. M.	Cambridge	8 Octo. 1792	
*Mr. Thomas Pemberton,	Boston	13 Aug. 1792	5 July, 1807.
†Eliphalet Pearson, LL. D.	Andover	28 Jan. 1800	28 Aug. 1810.
James Perkins, Esq.	Boston	29 May, 1792	
Rev. John Pierce,	Brookline	31 Jan. 1809	
Rev. John Snelling Popkin,	Newbury	13 July, 1801	
*Ezekiel Price, Esq.	Boston	30 April, 1793	15 July, 1802.
Rev. John Prince, LL.D.	Salem	29 Jan. 1793	
Hon. Josiah Quincy,	Boston	26 July, 1796	
Isaac Rand, M. D.	Do.	19 July, 1798	
Mr. Obadiah Rich,	Do.	5 Mar. 1805	

Names.	*Residence.*	*Time of Election.*	*Decease, Resignation, &c.*
Hon. David Sewall, Esq.	York	11 Oct. 1791	
William Smith Shaw, Esq.	Boston	7 Nov. 1805	
Hon. William Spooner, M. D.	Do.	26 April, 1796	
His Exc. Caleb Strong,	Northampton	31 July, 1800	
*His Exc. James Sullivan,	Boston	Original member	10 December, 18(
William Sullivan, Esq.	Do.	29 April, 1800	
John Langdon Sullivan, Esq.	Do.	28 April, 1801	
Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.	Boston	Original member	16 December, 18(
Joshua Thomas, Esq.	Plymouth	25 Oct. 1808	
Isaiah Thomas, Esq.	Worcester	25 April, 1811	
Joseph Tilden, Esq.	Boston	30 Jan. 1812	
William Tudor, Esq.	Do.	Original member	
Mr. Samuel Turell,	Do.	30 July, 1793	27 August, 1811.
Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq.	Do.	60 April, 1793	
Mr. Thomas Wallcut,	Boston	Original member	
*Marston Watson, Esq.	Do.	29 April, 1800	7 August, 1800.
Mr. Redford Webster,	Do.	13 Aug. 1792	
William Wetmore, Esq.	Do.	13 Aug 1792	
Rev. Peter Whitney,	Northborough	28 Aug 1804	
John Williams, Esq.	Deerfield	30 Oct. 1798	
Rev. Zephaniah Willis,	Kingston	28 April, 1801	
Hon. James Winthrop,	Cambridge	Original member	
Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq.	Boston	28 Aug. 1804	

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. Timothy Alden,	New-York	1 Oct. 1801	
Robert Anderson, M. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	27 Aug. 1805	
*Gardiner Baker, Esq.	N. York N.Yk.	17 Aug. 1795	October, 1798.
Rev. John Bassett,	Albany, Do.	29 Aug. 1809	
Benjamin S. Barton, M. D.	Philad. Penn.	26 Jan. 1796	
William Barton, Esq.	Lancas. Do.	26 Oct. 1802	
William Blount, Esq.	Tennessee	25 Oct. 1796	20 July, 1797.
Rev. Andrew Brown, D. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	30 April, 1793	
Rt. Hon. Earl of Buchan	Do.	30 Aug. 1808	
James Clarke, Esq.	Halifax, N.Sco.	17 Aug. 1795	

Names.	*Residence.*	*Time of Election.*	*Decease, Resignation, &c.*
Benjamin De Witt, M. D.	Albany, NewYk.	18 July, 1799	
Henry W. Desaussure, Esq.	Charleston, S. C.	25 April, 1797	
Rev. John Disney, D. D.	Hyde, England	26 April, 1809.	
John Dunn, LL. D.	Killaly, Ireland	1 Decemb. 1797	
Rev. Timo. Dwight, D.D.LL.D.	Newhaven, Con.	31 October, 1797	
Rev. C. D. Ebeling (Professor)	Hamburgh	28 October, 1794	
Samuel Eddy, Esq.	Providence	27 August, 1805	
*Rev. Andrew Eliot,	Fairfield, Con.	30 October, 1798	Oct. 26, 1805.
*Rev. John Erskine, D. D.	Edinburgh, Scotl.	8 October, 1792	
Moses Fiske,	Tennessee	31 October, 1811	
Hon. Theodore Foster,	Providence, R. I.	28 October, 1800	
Anthony Fothergill, M. D.	Bath, England	28 August, 1804	
Constant Freeman, Esq.	Fort Nelson	25 April, 1811	
Rev. Thomas Hall,	Leghorn	26 April, 1791	
Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.	Philadelph. Pen.	29 May, 1792	
*Gilbert Harrison Hubbard, Esq.	Demarara	18 Novemb. 1796	May 11, 1803.
*Rev. Arthur Homer, D. D.	Cambridge, Eng.	28 January, 1800	1806.
Hon. John Jay,	NewYork, N.Yk.	29 May, 1792	
Edward Jenner, M. D.	England	29 October, 1812	
William Johnson,	New-York	28 May, 1805	
*Sir William Jones,	Calcutta, Bengal	27 January, 1795	Apr. 27, 1794.
Lemuel Kollock, M. D.	Savannah, Geo.	25 April, 1797	
John Coakley Lettsom, M. D.	London, England	27 January, 1795	
*Ebenezer Grant Marsh, A. M.	Newhaven, Con.	1 Septemb. 1800	16 Nov. 1803.
Hon. John Marshall,	Richmond, Virg.	29 August, 1809	
Rev. David McClure,	East-Windsor	17 August, 1795	
Phineas Miller, Esq.	Savannah, Geo.	17 August, 1795	
Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D.	New York, N.Yk.	18 July, 1799	
Samuel Latham Mitchell, M.D.	Do. do.	30 January, 1798	
John Newman, M. D.	Salisbury, N. C.	27 April, 1802	
Hon. Nathaniel Niles,	Fairlee, Vermt.	2 January, 1793	
Rev. Asa Norton,	Paris, New-Yk.	31 January, 1797	

Names.	*Residence.*	*Time of Election.*	*Decease, Resignation, &c.*
Mr. Thomas Pieronnett,	(Then of) Demarara	28 Jan. 1800	
James Perkins, Esq.	(Then of) C. Francois	29 May, 1792	
Hon. Timothy Pickering,	(Then of) Philad. Pen	24 April, 1798	
Hon. Timothy Pitkin,	Farmington, Conn.	25 Aug. 1812	
His Exc. William Plummer,	Epping, New-Hamps.	25 Aug. 1807	
Hon. David Ramsay, M. D.	Charleston, S. C.	29 May, 1792	
Ephraim Ramsay, Esq.	S. C.	25 April, 1797	
Edmund Randolph, Esq.		23 Oct. 1792	July 20, 1797
Rumford, Benjamin T. Count of,	London, England	30 Jan. 1798	
Rev. Ezra Sampson,	Hudson, New-York	26 Aug. 1802	
Hon. Winthrop Sargeant,	Missisippi	28 Jan. 1794	
*Dr. Isaac Senter,	Newport, R. I.	18 Nov. 1796	1804.
Benjamin Silliman, A. M.	New-Haven, Conn.	Aug. 1806	
*Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith,	New-York, New-York	1 Dec. 1797	
Rev. Alexander Spark,	Quebeck, Can.	29 May, 1792	
*Rev. John Jones Spooner,	Martin's Brandon, Vir.	26 Nov. 1793	Sept. 1799.
*Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. LL.D.	New-Haven, Conn.	23 Oct. 1792	May, 1794.
Hon. Samuel Tenney, M. D.	Exeter, N. H.	8 Oct. 1792	
Charles Thompson, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	29 May, 1792	
His Exc. Jonathan Trumbull,	Lebanon, Conn.	30 April, 1799	7 Aug. 1809.
Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D. D.	North-Haven, Conn.	30 Oct. 1798	
Hon. St. George Tucker,	Williamsburgh, Vir.	17 Aug. 1795	
General Charles Vallancy,	Dublin, Ireland	7 Nov. 1805	
Hon. Stephen Van Ransalaer,	Albany, New-York	31 Jan. 1797	
John Vaughan, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	26 Aug. 1802	
Rich. Watson, D.D. Bp. of Landaff,	Cumberlandshire	31 Jan. 1804	
Noah Webster, jun. Esq.	(Then of) Hartf. Con.	13 Aug. 1792	
Charles Mary Wentworth, Esq.	Halifax, Nova-Scotia	28 May, 1805	
Jonathan Williams, Esq.	Philadelphia	27 Oct. 1807	
Dr. John Wheelock, LL. D.	Hanover, New-Hamp.	25 Aug. 1807	
Dr. Hugh Williamson,	Edenton, North-Caro.	17 Aug. 1795	
Hon. Oliver Wolcott,	New-York.	18 Nov. 1796	

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Presidents.

James Sullivan,	1791—1806
Christopher Gore, LL.D.	1806

Recording Secretaries.

Thomas Wallcut,	1791
George Richards Minot,	1792
James Freeman, D. D.	1793—1812
Joseph McKean,	1812

Corresponding Secretaries.

Jeremy Belknap, D. D.	1791—1798
John Eliot, D. D.	1798

Treasurers.

Wm. Tudor,	1791—1796 & 1799, 1803
George Richards Minot,	1796—1799
Josiah Quincy,	1803

Librarians.

John Eliot, D. D.	1791—93, 1795—98
George Richards Minot,	1793—1795
John Thornton Kirkland,	1798—1806
iam S. Shaw, Esq.	1806—1808
Timothy Alden, jun.	1808
Joseph McKean,	1809—1812
ph Tilden, Esq.	1812

Assistant Librarians.

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Rev. John Pierce,	I. N. S.

CIRCULAR LETTER

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Respectfully addressed in 1794, *by Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. then Corresponding Secretary, to every Gentleman of Science in the Continent and Islands of America.*

SIR,

THE professed design of our institution is to *collect, preserve*, and *communicate* materials for a complete history of this country, and of all valuable efforts of the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants. In pursuance of this design we have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets and manuscripts; and we are still in search of more.

The Library and Museum of the Society are deposited in a spacious and convenient apartment of the *Crescent*, in *Franklin-Place*, BOSTON. To this apartment, *any person* may have access, by application to the Librarian, or to any one of the members.

But from many instances which have occurred during our own memory, we are satisfied, that depositories, however desirable, are exposed to such accidents, from the hand of time, from the power of the elements, and from the ravages of unprincipled or mercenary men, as to render them unsafe. The surest way of preserving historical records and materials is, not to lock them up; but to *multiply the copies*. The art of printing affords a mode of preservation, more effectual than Corinthian brass, or Egyptian marble. Statutes and pyramids, which have long survived the wreck of time, are unable to tell the names of their sculptors, or the date of their foundations.

Impressed with this idea, the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY have determined, not only to *collect;* but to *diffuse* the various kinds of historical information which are within their reach. Though these materials may come in, at different times, and there may not be opportunity to digest them, in the best manner, previously to their publication; yet we will present them in such order as may be convenient and effectual. If we cannot erect an

elegant building, we will plant a forest, into which every inquirer may enter at his pleasure, and find something adapted to his purpose.

We have therefore encouraged a publication in which is given the result of our inquiries into the *natural*, *political*, and *ecclesiastical* history of this country. It is requested, that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attending to the annexed articles of inquiry; and we beg leave to depend on your obliging answers, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

We have also contemplated the forming of an extensive cabinet; comprehending the various natural productions of our continent, the adjacent islands and the neighbouring seas. To facilitate this purpose, we have annexed to this letter the best directions we have been able to obtain, for the collection and preservation, of all the proper subjects of natural history. Any specimens which it may be in your power to send will be gratefully received.

Your letters, free of expense, addressed to the President or either of the Secretaries, will be duly acknowledged, and noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge with which we hope to entertain the public.

ARTICLES ON WHICH THE SOCIETY REQUEST INFORMATION.

1. THE time when your town or city was incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what Colony or County it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labours and sufferings of the inhabitants in war, particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town or city into parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits.

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination; names of the several ministers; the times of their settlement, removal and death; and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for in-

genuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment; an account of their literary productions, and if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town or county, and its vicinity; mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, sands, clays, chalk, flints, pit-coal, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts on farther improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relicks of the ancient Indians; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity from the first settlement, to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualities, the proportion of births and deaths; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Observations on manufactures of various kinds in any part of America at any time; and a comparative view of them at any two or more periods; particularly before and since the independence of the United States; before and since the establishment of the present federal constitution; with thoughts on the farther improvement of them.

13. Past and present state of fisheries either in the seas or rivers of America.

14. Modes of education, private or public; what encouragement is given to schools and colleges, and what is done to advance literature; whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and of what value.

15. Associations for religious or literary improvement, or the encouragement of the arts.

16. What remarkable events have befallen your State, county, town, or particular families or persons at any time.

☞ The Corresponding Members of this Society are requested to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, any historical and geographical information of which they may

be possessed, respecting any part of the American Continent and Islands, together with printed acts and journals of Assemblies and Conventions, whether civil or ecclesiastical. And the Society will gratefully receive from them and from all other persons whatever, any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans which may be useful in an historical collection—and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge the Museum.

As one branch of a collection of materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country—it is intended to form a complete series of Sermons,

On the discovery of America.

On the completion of one century from the discovery or settlement of any *State*, *town*, or other place in the United States.

Delivered before the General Court } in Plymouth
At the anniversary elections } or Boston, in Connecticut, New Hampshire, or any other of the States.

At the anniversary conventions of the clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist.

At the anniversary elections of officers of the artillery company.

On annual and special Fasts and Thanksgivings.

To militia companies, or to troops in camp.

On victory or defeat in war.

On ordinations, installations, or removals of ministers, dedication of churches, &c.

On the return of peace.

On remarkable events, as fires, earthquakes, epidemic sickness, &c.

At assizes, or the opening courts of justice.

At town meetings, and on other popular occasions.

Orations, Sermons, or Poems,

On the anniversary of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth.

On the anniversary of the 5th of March.

On the anniversary of the 4th of July.

At the meetings of the Cincinati Society.

On the death of eminent characters in church or state.
Before any literary society.
Journals, laws, resolves and protests,
Of Congresses.
Of Assemblies, Conventions, and other Legislative and deliberative bodies.
Conferences and treaties of publick Commissioners, appointed to treat with Indians.
Tax acts of an older date than 1775.
Proclamations by authority, and other single printed sheets.
Proceedings of Episcopal conventions, Ecclesiastical councils, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, Baptist Associations, Circular Letters of the Societies of Friends; and of other denominations of christians.
Indian exploits, speeches, anecdotes, &c.
Narratives, Of battles, with the Indians.
Of captives, their exploits, sufferings, escapes, &c.
Of missionaries and itinerant preachers of all denominations.
Journals, Of voyagers and travellers, for *discovery*, *curiosity*, or other causes.
Minutes, or other doings of *political clubs*.
Magazines, museums, newspapers, &c.
Laws, catalogues, &c. of the several colleges in our country.

Directions for preserving animals and parts of animals.

QUADRUPEDS. The *head* should be preserved as nearly as possible in its natural form, with all its parts. If it be necessary to remove any of the bones of the head, care should be taken, to retain the *jaw-bone* with all the *teeth* entire; as the number, form, and situation of the teeth afford some of the most essential and distinguishing characters. The *tongue* ought to be preserved in its natural form; also the *legs*, *feet*, and *hoofs* or *claws*.

BIRDS. These should be preserved in *full plumage*; with the *bill*, *tongue*, and other parts of the head; the *wings*, *thighs*, *legs*, and *claws*; and the fleshy part of the *rump*, in which the tail-feathers are inserted; with all the feathers as nearly as may be in their natural position. There are many parts or appendages of the head, the presence or absence

of which affords distinguishing characters. Specimens of birds of both sexes and of the same species are desirable. The *nests* and *eggs* of birds contribute to increase the knowledge of natural history.

AMPHIBIOUS. The *head*, with all its parts; the *skin* or *shell* in its natural form; with all the *limbs* and appendages.

SERPENTS. The whole *head*, *teeth* and *tongue*. The skin ought to be opened on one side, to preserve uninjured the *scales* on the belly, from the head to the end of the tail. A small portion of the *bone* at the end of the *tail* should be retained. If the skin be spread open and dried (as hereafter directed in the mode of drying the skins of birds) all the rings, spots, and stripes will appear; and especially the scales under the belly, called the *scuta* and *squama;* the number of which affords distinguishing characters.

FISHES. Specimens may be preserved, by splitting the head and taking one half of the *head* and *gills*, and *skin*, with all the *fins* of the back and belly, and along the *tail* to its extremity; the membraneous part which is an extension of the head over the gills, called the *branchia*, and contains a number of long bones called *rays*, which are generally essential in giving the characters of fishes.

INSECTS. These should be preserved entire.

TESTACEOUS. In preserving those which have two valves or shells; great care should be taken to preserve the *joints* by which the shells or valves are connected; because they contain the essential characters. Those shells which are found with the fish in them are most valuable for the brightness of colour.

ZOOPHYTES, which partake of the nature of both animals and vegetables, should be preserved entire; with the substances to which they may be found to adhere.

Doctor CUTLER'S *method of preserving the skins of birds.*

" Open the skin along the breast; remove the whole of the body and neck, retaining the bones in the fore-part of the head; the wings, thighs and legs. Then spread the skin open; and place it on a sheet of brown paper, adjusting the head, wings, legs and tail. Over the skin, thus disposed, place another sheet of paper, and a small wei
so as to produce a gentle pressure. When the skin i

come somewhat dry and stiff, it may be moistened with a sponge or brush dipped in spirits.* Then sprinkle the skin pretty thick with a powder composed of equal parts of alum, salt-petre, and black pepper. Then place it between two sheets of paper as before, with a gentle pressure. It may be enclosed in several thicknesses of paper, to prevent all the feathers from being injured by the heat, and be placed for several hours in an oven after the bread is drawn."

M. CUTLER.

Methods of preserving animals and their skins.

"*First.* Take half an ounce of crude *Sal Ammoniac* in powder; put it into a pint of water; and when dissolved, add one ounce of *corrosive sublimate mercury* also in powder.

When this solution is used, it should be put into a glass phial and set in a vessel of cold water over the fire. When the water boils, the solution will be sufficiently heated. When heated, it must be laid on with a brush. It is used for washing the inside of boxes, in which insects and other preparations are kept. There should be a string or wire, round the neck of the phial, by which it may be lifted, when hot; and it must be heated in a glass phial as directed; because it corrodes with great rapacity every metallic substance.

"*Second.* Take twelve ounces of *rectified spirit of wine;* one ounce and a half of *spirit of turpentine;* mix, and add half an ounce of *camphor.*

The skins of animals may be passed over with this fluid, by means of a brush. It will destroy several species of insects.

"*Third.* Take white *arsenic* two ounces, *alum*, common *salt*, flower of *sulphur*, white *chalk*, one ounce of each; *colocynth* one quarter of an ounce, and of black *pepper* one ounce. Let each be powdered separately, then mix them intimately.

* The stiffest skins of any animal whatever may be rendered soft and pliable, by the application of the yolk of an egg mixed with warm water.

"*Fourth.* With this compound powder, let the fresh skins of animals be sprinkled on the inside; and for the outside, use one pint of *rectified spirit* in which one quarter of an ounce of *mercury sublimate corrosive* is dissolved. This method is very proper for birds. The celebrated REAUMUR used every spring to place his preparations in an oven made so hot as only not to burn the feathers or hair; by which means any latent insects were destroyed.

It may not be improper to observe, that these are all nocturnal insects, and begin to move soon after twilight in quest of proper substances on which to deposit their eggs. The evening is therefore a fit time to examine the walls, by which attention, many of them may be destroyed. I have found this a useful precaution. The specimens themselves should be frequently and carefully examined, to discover any insects which may have crept into them; without this care, no application whatever will I believe effectually preserve them."

A method of preserving birds and other animals, from the Philosophical Transactions, recommended by Dr. LETTSOM, *in his Traveller's Companion*, p. 13.

"Birds in perfect plumage should be opened from the upper part of the breast, to the vent, with a sharp knife or pair of scissars; the feathers of the breast and belly being first carefully laid aside by the fingers; so as not to hinder the skin being easily come at. The skin must then be carefully loosened from all the fleshy parts of the breast and body. Take out all the entrails. Then with a composition of *burnt alum*, *camphor* and *cinnamon*, of each an equal quantity, well powdered and mixed, let the whole carcase be strewed over lightly; but *salt is not to be used* with this composition, as it will, in moist weather, drop and besmear the feathers. Pour into the body a small quantity of *camphorated spirit of wine;* after that, fill up the cavity with *cotton* or any soft wooly substance, pouring some of the aforesaid spirit into the cotton or stuffing.

"Fill up the body where the flesh has been taken away, with cotton, and your composition; and having a fine needle and silk, sew up the skin, beginning at the breast; ob-

serving, as you approach towards the vent, to stuff the skin as tight as it will bear. This will be easily accomplished by means of a small stick, of wood or ivory, till the whole is done. Then lay the feathers of the breast and belly in their proper order.

"To preserve the *head*, Mr. KUCKAHN directs the neck to be pulled within the skin, till the back of the skull is drawn into sight; out of which a small piece is to be cut, and the brains extracted. The cavity of the skull is then to be moistened with spirits, and filled with the composition and with cotton; the skin may then be drawn to its proper place.

"Or, the brain may be extracted, by making an incision through the roof of the mouth (taking care not to injure the tongue) with a sharp pointed knife and drawing the substance of the brain, the eyes, and other internal parts of the head; the cavity should be immediately filled with the composition and cotton. No water should be used to cleanse any of the cavities.

Large *sea fowls* have thick, strong skins; such may be skinned, taking care to preserve the bones of the head, and other essential characteristic parts. The inside of the skin may be moistened with any of the aforementioned solutions, the sublimate solution to be preferred. But where these cannot be had, a mixture of *tobacco-dust*, *alum*, *pepper*, and *camphor* may be substituted. The skin may then be stuffed with oakum or tobacco steeped in the solution, and sewed up. It should be kept dry, and as soon as possible dried in an oven, not so hot as to crisp the feathers.

"The skins of *fishes* taken off at sea may be preserved in a strong brine, with the addition of a little alum.

"When any subject is to be kept some time in a hot climate, it should be secured in a box filled with oakum, tow, or tobacco, well sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

"Small birds may be preserved whole in spirits; the finest plumage is not injured by this mode.

"Small quadrupeds, reptiles, zoophites and marine insects, may also be preserved in spirits, with the addition of a little alum; the corks of the phials must be well secured, or the spirits will evaporate. The first drawn spirits, commonly called *high wines*, are to be preferred.

" Winged insects are best preserved by drying; when first caught, they should be put into boxes well besmeared with camphor.

Method of collecting and preserving vegetables.
By Dr. LETTSOM.

" When the naturalist is in search of vegetable productions, different soils and situations should be examined; as the sea and its shores, deep running waters, dykes, marshes, moors, mountains, rocks, woods, neglected or cultivated fields. Each of these affords peculiar plants; and when any are collected, the particular soil and situation should be remarked. If it be convenient to take the whole plant with its root, flowers and parts of fructification entire and perfect, the most effectual way of preserving it, is to put it into a bottle of spirits. But it is often more convenient to convey them dried in a *hortus siccus*.

" To do this in the best manner, and to make the stalks, leaves and flowers lie flat and smooth, they must be exposed, between papers, to a free dry air, with considerable pressure upon them. The leaves and flowers should be carefully expanded; for on this, the beauty and value of the specimen greatly depend. The plants should be gathered on a dry day, whilst they are in full bloom, and all their parts perfect and entire. When perfectly dry, they may be kept, either loose in quires of paper, or fastened into a book, with glue made of fish ising-glass, dissolved in boiling water.* Particular care should be taken to avoid any injuries from moisture or insects; to prevent any accident from the latter, let the paper and stalks of the plants be sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

* One ounce of fish ising-glass dissolved in a quart of brandy, and boiled till three quarters of the liquor be evaporated, will make a fine glue, which may be kept bottled for a long time.
Dr. CLARKSON, late of Philadelphia.

The *impressions* of plants well taken off on paper look very little inferior to the best drawings. Several methods have been recommended. The following by professor PECK is very easy and effectual.

Method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves by means of smoke.

"THE apparatus necessary for this purpose consists of a pane of glass; a pair of pliers, the jaws of which must be covered with leather; a pair of small forceps; a wooden cylinder, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, covered with soft woolen cloth, wrapped four or five times round it and secured; two pieces of sponge of the size of a hen's egg; and some splinters of pitch pine wood. It is convenient also to have two cups of water.

"The process is as follows.—Take a dry leaf, let it lie in warm water till it becomes perfectly flexible; then with one of the sponges moisten the glass; lay the leaf on it, with the face next the glass, pressing it close with the sponge, which at the same time absorbs all superfluous moisture. The glass is then to be taken up by the pliers; a splinter of the pitch pine is to be lighted and the leaf held over the smoke; it must be kept moving, that the smoke may be equally distributed, and the leaf prevented from drying.

"When it is sufficiently blackened, it is to be removed from the glass with the small forceps, taking it by the stalk, near the leaf, and placed on a smooth clean table. Then with the other sponge dipped in clean water, wet the paper on each side, till it is sufficiently moist and soft; then laying it carefully on the leaf, pass the roller over it, bearing on it with both hands, with an even pressure; and you will find a beautiful impression of the leaf with every vein and ramification.

"The smoke is to be washed from the glass for every new impression, If the leaf chosen is fresh, it must be suffered to wither, then wetted and placed on the glass as above."

Method of preserving marine productions.

"*Corals, Corallines, Sponges* and other marine productions are found in considerable variety near the coasts of islands and continents, particularly in hot climates. Some of these are very tender and brittle when dry, and should therefore be carefully packed up in sand, in order to keep them steady; or they may be placed between papers in the manner of a *hortus siccus.*

"In hot climates the insects are rapacious and the finest fan-corals and others of a soft texture, when first taken out of the sea, are sometimes almost devoured before they become hard and dry. To prevent injuries of this kind; a little powdered corrosive sublimate or its solution may be sprinkled on them. Some of the smaller, and some branches of the larger may be put into spirits and the parts of them preserved more distinctly." DR. LETTSOM.

In collecting mineral *and* fossil *substances, the following particulars are to be attended to.*

"When any articles* are collected, mark them by numbers or some other sign of distinction referring to a catalogue, with all the particulars relative to the subject—as (1.) Where it was found. (2.) In what quantity. (3.) Whether on the surface of the earth, or at what depth. (4.) In what position, whether horizontal, perpendicular or inclined, in what angle and to what point of the compass. (5.) Whether in strata or loose. (6.) The depth and thickness of the strata, how inclined and to what point; whether the fissures be horizontal, perpendicular or inclined; and what fossil bodies are contained in the fissures. (7.) The quality of the neighbouring waters, whether pure, tasteless, purgative, vitriolic, chalybeate, &c.

"The places to be searched are the sides and gullies of hills, the shores of the sea and rivers, with adjacent banks and cliffs, and the falls of rivers.

* Sands and clays, chalk, flints, and pit coal are particularly desirable, because useful in manufactures.

"The situation of mines, pits and quarries, whether in vallies, hills, or plains, and the disposition of the strata, their depth and thickness. The damps and steams of mines and pits, and the effects of them on the human body or on fire; in what seasons and in what state of the air they are observed; and what is the temperature of the air at particular depths. The accounts of these things given by natives and workmen." All these are subjects of inquiry for a naturalist.

DR. LETTSOM.

COLLECTIONS, &c.

LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM A. BURWELL, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, TO THE HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Washington, December 20th, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

THE manuscript copy of Bacon and Ingram's rebellion was found among the papers of the late Capt. Nathaniel Burwell, of King William County.—I have not been able to obtain many particulars from his family relative to it.

At the close of the war he heard of its existence in an old and respectable family of the Northern Neck of Virginia, and procured it for his amusement; he entertained no doubt of its antiquity, and valued it on that account.

From the appearance of the work, the minute and circumstantial detail of facts, the orthography, and the style, I am perfectly satisfied his opinion was correct.—I hope it will be found worthy of a place in the valuable collections of the Society to which you belong.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for the success of your labours. Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM A. BURWELL, *of Virginia.*

*The Indians Proceedings.**

* *

for their owne security. They found that their store was too short to indure a long seige, without making emty bellies and that emty bellies makes weake hearts, which

* We regret that the beginning of this manuscript is missing, and that several parts were so much torn that it became necessary to leave vacant spaces. Where the expression is uncertain, but the page not wholly disfigured, we have used *italick letters*. ED.

alway makes an unfit serving man to wait upon the God of War. Therefore they were resolve, before that their spirits were downe, to do what they could to keepe their stores up, as oppertunitie should befriend them : and allthough they were by the law of arms (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wilde deare, they resolved to see what good might be don by hunting tame horsses : which trade became their sport soe long, that those who came on horseback to the seige began to feare they should be compeld to trot hom on foot, and glad if they scap'd so too, for these belegured blades made so many salleys, and the beseigers kep such neglegent gards, that there was very few days past without som remarkeable mischiefe. But what can hold out allways ? even stone walls yields to the not-to-be gaine saide summons of time. And allthough it is saide that the Indians doth the least minde their bellies (as being content with a little) of any people in the world, yet now their bellies began to minde them, and their stomachs too, which began to be more inclinable to peace than war ; which was the cause (no more horse-flesh being to be had) that they sent out 6 of their W œrowances (chief men) to commence a treaty. What the artickles were that they brought along with them to treate of I do not know, but certainely they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the commissioners braines to be knock'd out for dictating so badly to their tongues, which yet, tis possible, exprest more reason, than the English had to prove the lawfulness of this action, being diametrecall to the law of arms.

This strange action put those in the fort to their trumps, having thus lost som of their prime court cards, without a faire dealing. They could not tell what interpretation to put upon it (nay, indeed, nobody else) and very faine they would *understand* why those, whom they sent out with a *view to supplicate* a peace should be worse dealt with than those who were sent out with a sword to denounce a war ; but, *no one* could be got to make inquirie into the reason of this * * which put them upon a resolution to forsake their *station*, and not to expostulate the cause any further. Having *made* this resolution, and destroyed all things in the fort, that might be servisable to the English, they boldly, undiscovered slip through the league (leaving the English to pros-

secute the seige, as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the fox had suck'd) in the passing of which they knock'd ten men on the head, who lay carelessly asleep in their way.

Now allthough it might be saide that the Indians went their ways emty handed, in regard they had left all their plunder and wealth behind them in the fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away emty hearted : for though that was pritty well drained from its former curage through those inconveniences that they had bin subjected to by the seige, yet in the room thereof, rather than the venticles should lie voide, they had stowed up so much mallize, entermixt with a resollution of revenge, for the affrunt that the English had put upon them, in killing their messingers of peace, that they resolved to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The beseigers having spent a grate deale of ill imployed time in pecking at the huske, and now finding the shell open, and missing the expected prey, did not a little woonder what was becom of the lately impounded Indians, who, though at present, they could not be seene, yet it was not long before they were heard off, and felt too : for in a very short time they had, in a most inhumane manner, murthered no less than 60 innocent people, no ways guilty of any actual injury don to these ill-discerning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poore soules, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those their commissioners, before mentioned, might be atton'd and lade down to take their repose in the dismall shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any farther revenge. Therefore to prove whether the English was as redy for a peace, as themselves, they send their remonstrance in the name of their *Chief*, taken by an English interpreter, unto the Governour of Virginia, with whom he expostulates in this sort. What *was it* that moved him to take up arms against him his *professed* friend in the behalfe of the Marylanders his professed enemies contrary to that league made between him and himselfe? declares as well his owne as subjects griefe to finde the Verginians, of friends, without any cause given to becom his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarrell, as to persew the chase into anothers dominions : Complaines, that his messingers of peace, were not onely

murthered by the english, but the fact countenanced by the Governour's connivance: for which, seeing no other ways to be satisfied, he had revenged himself by killing 10 for one of the Verginians, such being the disperportion between his grate men murthered, and those by his command slane; that now this being done, if that his honnour would allow him a valluable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concerne himselfe in the Marylanders quarill, he was content to renew and confirm the ancient league of amity, otherways himselfe, and those whom he had ingaged to his intress (and their owne) were resolved to fite it out to the last man.

These proposals not being assented to by the English, as being derogatory and point blank both to honour and intress, these Indians draw in others (formerly in subjection to the Verginians) to their aides: which being conjoyned (in separate and united parties) they dayly committed abundance of unguarded and unrevenged murthers upon the English, which they perpretrated in a most barbarous and horrid manner. By which means abundance of the Fronteare Plantations became eather depopulated by the Indian settlers, or deserted by the planters feares, who were compelled to forsake their abodes to find security for their lives; which they were not to part with in the hands of the Indians, but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhuman brutes, lest their cruelties might not be thought cruell enough, they devised a hundred ways to torter and torment those poore soules with, whose reched fate it was to fall into their unmerciful hards. For some, before they would deprive them of their lives, they would take a great deal of time to deprive them first of their skins, and if their life had not, through the anguish of their paine, forsaken their tormented bodies, they *with their clubs knock out their teeth* (or som instrument) tear off the nails of *their hands* and their

Cruelties of the Indians.

, which put the poor sufferer to a woful *condi-*
. One was *prepared for the flames at James'*
, who indured much, but found means to es-
* * * * * *
* * * * for least that
r deaths should be attributed to some more mer-
l hands than theirs, to put all out of ques-
, they would leave som of those brutish markes
n their fenceless bodies, that they might testify
ould be none but they who had committed the

nd now it was that the poor distressed and
bly afflicted Planters began to curse and exe-
e that ill maniged business at the fort. Their
s were reiterated again and again, both to God
to man for releife. But no appearance of long
ed for safety ariseing in the horizon of their
es, they were redy, could they have tould which
to leave all and forsake the Collony; rather
to stay, and be exposed to the cruelties of the
erous heathen.

t last it was concluded, as a good expedient for
ut the countrie in a good degree of safety, for to
forts upon the Fronteirs, thinking thereby to
a stop to the Indians excursions, which after
expence of a grate deale of time and charge,
g finished, com short of the designed ends.
the Indians quickly found out where the mouse
s were sett, and for what purpose, and so re-
ed to keep out of the way of their danger; which
might easy ennough do without any detriment
heir designes. For tho' hereby they were com-
ed to go (tis possible) a little about, yet they
er thought much of their labour, so long as they
e not debarred from doing of mischiefe; which
not in the power of these forts to prevent. For
hat the English did at any time know that there
more ways into the wood than one to kill Deare,
Indians found more, a thousand out of the wood,
ill men, and not com neare the danger of the
s neather.

Forts to be built.

Not valued by the Indians.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by them experienced from those useless fabricks (or castells, *if so we say*) excited a marvellous discontent among the people. *Some thought the charge would be great*, and the benefit little * * * * * It *rent the hearts of many* that they should be compeld to work all day, nay all the year, for to reward those mole catchers at the fort (nobody knew for what,) and at night could not find a place of safety to lie downe in, to rest their weary bones, for feare they should be shattered all to pieces by the Indians; upon which consideration they thought it best to petition the downefall of these useless (and like to be) chargeable fabricks, from whose continuance they could neither expect profit nor safety.

The Forts disliked by the English.

But for the effecting this business they found themselves under a very grate disadvantage, for though it may be more easier to cast downe than irect well cemented structures, yet the rule doth not hould good in all cases. For it is to be understood that these forts were contrived, eather by the sole command of the Governour, or otherways by the advice of those whose judgments, in these affairs he approved off; eather of which was now, they being don, his own emmediate act, as they were done in his name, which to have undone at the simple request of the people, had bin in effect, to have undone the Repute he always held in the peoples judgment for a wise man; and better that they should suffer some small inconveniences, than that he should be accounted less discerning than those, who till now were counted more than halfe blinde. Besides how should he satisfie his honour of the undertakers of the work. If the peoples petition be granted, they must be disappointed, which would be little less than an undoing to them allsoe, in their expectation of proffitt to be raised from the work. Hereby the people quickly found themselves in an errour, when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the Forts where irected upon, honour and profit

against which all their saping and mineing had no power to overturne. They having no other ingredience to makeing up their fire works with but prayers and mispent tears and intreties; which having vented to no purpose, and finding their condition every whit as bad, if not worse, as before the forts were made, they resolved to * * * * * * * * * *

The people chose Col. Bacon their General, which post he accepted. He was a man of quality and merit, brave and eloquent, became much endeared, not so much for what he had yet done as the cause of their affections, as for what they expected he would doe to deserve their devotion; while with no common zeale they sent up their reiterated prayers, first to himselfe, and next to heaven, that he may becom their guardian angel, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this Gent: man had a perfect antipathy. Bacon appears against the Indians.

It seemes that at the first rise of the war this Gent: man had made some overtures unto the Governour for a commission to go and put a stop to the Indians proseedings. But the Governour at present, eather not willing to commence the quarill (on his part) till more suiteable reasons presented, for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen: Or that he doubted Bacons temper, as he appeared popularly inclined; A Constitution not consistent with the times, or the peoples dispositions; being generally discontented, for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them, too grate (as they saide) for them to beare, and against which they had som considerable time complained, without the least redress. For these, or som other reasons, the Governour refused to comply with Bacon's proposalls. Which he lookeing upon as undervalluing as well to his parts as a disperidgment to his pretentions, he in som elated and passionate expressions, sware Commission or no Commission, the next man or woman he heard off that should be Bacon advanceth against the Indians.

killed by the Indians, he would go out against them, though but twenty men would adventure the servis with him. Now it so unhappily fell out, that the next person that the Indians did kill was one of his owne family. Whereupon having got together about 70 or 90 persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a Commission (after some strugglings with the Governour) *som of his best friends* who *condemned* his enterprises, he applies himself * * * * * * * * * * * The Governour could not bear this insolent deportment of Bacon, *and spake freely against him, and condemned his proseedings.* Which * * instead of seeking means to appease his anger, they devised meenes to increase it, by framing specious pretences which they grounded upon the bouldness of Bacons actions, and the peoples affections. They began (som of them) to have Bacons merits in mistrust, as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their riseing gloryes. For tho' he was but a yong man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induments which constitutes a compleate man, (as to intrinsecalls) wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse. By which embellishments if he should continue in the Governours favour of seniours they might becom juniours, while their yonger brother, thro' the nimbleness of his wit, might steale away that blessing, which they accounted their owne by birthright. This rash proceeding of Bacon, if it did not undoe himselfe, by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undoe them in the affections of the people; which to prevent they thought it conducable to their intress and establishment, for to get the Governour in the minde to proclaime him a Rebell, as knowing that once being don, since it could not be don but in and by the Governours name, it must needs breed bad blood betweene Bacon and Sir William, not easily to be purged. For though Sir William might forgive, what Bacon, as yet had acted; yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might for-

get what Sir William had don. However, according to their desires, Bacon, and all his adherents, was proclaimed a Rebell, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty. With which the Governour advanced from the middle plantation* to find him out, and if need was to fight him, if the Indians had not knock'd him, and those that were with him, in the head, as som were in hope they had don, and which by som was earnestly desired.

Forces raised to reduce Bacon.

After som days the Governour retracts his march, (a jurnye of som 30 or 40 miles) to meet the assemblie, now redy to set downe at our Metroppolis, while Bacon in the meane while meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of resollution and gallantrey (as his own party relates it) in their fastness; killing a great many and blowing up their magazine of arms and powder, to a considerable quantity if *we may judge from himself*, no less than 4000 wt. This being done, and *all his* provisions spent, he returns home, and *while here* submits himselfe to be chosen burgess of the County in which he did live, contrary to his *qualifications*, take him as he was formerly one of the Councell of State, or as hee was now a proclaimed Rebell. However, he applyes himselfe to the performance of that trust reposed in him, by the people, if he might be admitted into the house. But this not faying according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop, (then at ancor before the towne) in which was about 30 gentlemen besides himselfe, he was there surprised and made prisoner, with the rest, som being put into irons, in which condition they remained som time, till all things were fitted for the tryall. Which being brought to a day of heareing, before the Governour and Councell, Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all misdemeanours, but restored to the Councel table as before; and not only, but promised to have a commission signed the

Bacon meets with the Indians.

Bacon taken prisoner.

Brought upon his tryall and acquited.

* Williamsburg. See Beverly's history of Virginia.

June 10 promised a Commission. Monday following (this was Saturday) as Generall for the Indian warr, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the generall acclamations of all then in towne.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermenent deportments of that blind Godes fortune who, in the morning leades men with disgraces, and ere night crowns him with honours; sometimes depressing, and again ellevating, as her fickle humer is to smile or frown, of which this Gentleman's fate was a kind of epittemy in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected in a very few days. For in the morning, before his tryall, he was, in his enemys hopes, and his friends feares, judged for to receive the Gurdęan due to a Rebell (and such he was proclaimed to be) and ere night crowned the Darling of the peoples hopes and desires, as the only man fitt in Verginia to put a stop to the bloody resollution of the Heathen. And yet againe, as a fuller manifestation of Fortune's inconstancye, within two or three days, the peoples hopes, and his desires, were both frustrated by the Governours refusing to signe the promised commission. At which being disgusted, though he dissembled the same so well as he could, he beggs leave of the Governour to dispense with his servis at the councell table, to visit his *Wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed*, which request the Governour (after som contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advicé of som about him, who suspected Bacons designes, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and that this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to towne with 500 men in arms.

The Governour refuses to syne the Commission.

Bacon disgusted.

The Governour did not want intelligence of Bacons designes, and therefore sent out his summons for Yorke traine bands to reinforce his gards then at towne. But the time was so short, not above 12

owers warning) and those that appeared at the Rendezvous made such a slender number, that under 4 Ensignes there was not mustered above 300 souldiers, and not one half of them sure neaher, and all so sluggish in their march, that before hey could reach towne, by a grate deale, Bacon ad entered the same, and by force obtained a comission, calculated to the hight of his own desires. With which commission, being invested, (such as it ras,) he makes redy his provisions, fills up his comanies to the designed number (500 in all) and so pplies himselfe to those services the country expectd from him. And, first, for the securing the same gainst the excursions of the Indians, in his absence and such might be expected) he commissionated everal persons, (such as he could confide in) in evry respective county, with select companies of well ained men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, nd all such suspected places where Indians might ave any shelter for the doing of mischiefe. Which roceedings of his put so much courage into the lanters, that they begun to apply themselves to their ccustomed employments in their plantations: which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knock'd in the head, as God knows, too many were, before these orders were observed.

Bacon returnes to town at the head of 500 men, and forceath a Commission.

While the Generall (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affaires, and fitting his provissions, about the head of Yorke river, in order to his advance against the Indians; the Governour was steareing quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a Rebell againe. And now since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him, so soone as he should returne tired and exhausted by his toyle and labour, in the Indian war. For the putting this councel in execution, the Governour steps over in Gloster county, (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affection of any County in Virginia,) all which the

Governour summons to give him a meeting
place and day assigned, where being met acco
to summons the Governours proposalls was so n
disrelished, by the wholl Convention, that the
disbanded to their owne aboades, after their p
ise past to stand by, and assist the Gover
against all those who should go about to ron
person or debase his authority; unto which p
ise they annexed or subjoined severall reasons
they thought it not convenient at present, co
nient to declare themselves against Bacon, a
was now advancing against the common enemy,
had in a most barbarous maner murthered
hundreds of their deare brethren and countryı
and would, if not prevented by God, and the
deavours of good men, do their utmost for to cu
the wholl Collony.

The Gloster men's protestation.

Therefore did they think that it would be a t
inconsistent with right reason if that they in
desperate conjuncture of time, should go and
gage themselves one against another; from the
sult of which proceedings, no thing could be
pected but ruine and destruction unto both
the one and other party, since that it might rea
ably be conceived, that while they should be e
sing their breasts against one anothers wepons,
barbarous and common enemy (who would make
advantages by our disadvantages) should be u
their backs to knock out their brains. But
should so hapen (as they did hope would never l
en) that the General after the Indian war was finisl
should attempt any thing against his Honers pe
or Government, that they would rise up in ar
with a joint consent, for the preservation of bot

Since the Governour could obtaine no more
was, at present, to rest himselfe contented with t
while those who had advised him to these un
takings, was not a little dissatisfied to find the ev
not answer their expectations. But he at pres
seeing there was no more to be don, since he w
ed a power to have that don, which was esteen

he maine of the affaires, now in hand to be don, namely, the gaineing of the Gloster men, to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclame Bacon a tratour, which was performed in all publick places of meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclameation, after that it had pas- ted the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his Honer to do what he had now don, soone reached the Generalls ears not yet stopt up from lisning to apparent dangers.

Bacon proclaimed a Tratour.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and som with him, shrodely to their trumps, believing that a few such deales, or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly ring the cards and game to out his hand. He perceved that he was falne (like the corne between the stones) so that if he did not looke the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certaine enemy in his frunt, and more than uncertaine friends in his reare, portended no great security from a violent death, and that there could be no grate difference betweene his being wounded to death in his breast, with bows and arrows, or in the back with guns and musquet bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians, for the prisarvation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his owne and souldiers safety, otherways that worke must be ill don where the laberoures are made criples, and compeld insteade of a sword to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vext him to the hart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which dayly destroyed our harmless sheepe and lambs, that hee and those with him should be persued, with a full cryc, as a more salvage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himselfe in som degree of safety, since he could not tell but that som whom he left behind, might not more desire his death, than to hear that by

him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with som of his souldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice *came up with* them at the middle plantation,* a place situated in the very heart of the country.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after that he had settled himself at the middle plantation) was *to prepare his* remonstrance, and that as well against a certain *anonymous* paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to the Governours proclamation. Putting both papers upon *these declarations, he asks* whether parsons wholly devoted to their king and country, haters of all sinister, and by respects, aiming only at their countreys good, and indeavouring to the *utmost of their* power, to the haserd of their lives and fortunes, *that they might* destroy those, that are in armes against their king and *countrey*, men who never plotted, contrived, nor indeavoured *any* indiscretion, detriment or rong of any his Majesties *subjects*, in their lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can desarve the appellation of Rebells and Traters.

He cites the wholl contrey to testifie his and his souldiers peaceable behaviours; upbrades som in authority with the meanness of their parts; others, now welthey, with the meanness of their estates, when they first came into the country; and questions by what just ways or means, they have obtained the same; and whether they have not bin the spunges that have suck'd up and devoured the common tresurye? Questions what arts, ciences, schools of learning or manufacteres hath been promoted by any now in authority?—Justifies his aversion (in generall) against the Indians, upbrades the Governour for maintaneing their quarrill (tho' never so unjust) against the Christians rites and intress; His refusing to admit an Englisman's oath against an Indian, when that an Indians word would be sufficient proofe against an Englisman. Saith something against the Governour about the Beaver trade

Bacon's declaration.

* Williamsburg.

as being a monoply * * * * *
Arraignes one Col. Coles ascertion *for saying* that the English are bound to protect the Indians at the haserd of their blood ; and so concludes with an appeale to King and Parlaiment where he *has no doubt* that his and the peoples cause will be impartially heard.

After this manner the game begins. *This declaration* of Bacon was the Preeludum to the following chapter * * * * * *

His next worke was to invite all that had any regard to themselves, or love to their countrey, their wives, children and other relations to give him a meeting at his quarters, at a day named, then and there to consider how to put the countrey into som degree of safety, and to indeavour for to stop those imminent dangers, now threatening the destruction of the wholl Collony, through the bloody proseedings of the Indians ; and (as he saide) by Sir Williams doteing and irregular actings. Desiring of them not to sit still in this common tyme of callamity, with their hands in their bosoms ; or as unconcern'd spectaters, stand gazing upon their approaching ruinye, and not lend a hand to squench those flames, now likely to consume them and theirs to ashes. According to the summons most of the prime Gentlemen of these parts, (whereof some were of the Councell of State) gave Bacon a meeting at his quarters at the assigned time. Where being met (after a long harange by him made, much of the nature of, and to explane the summons) he desired them to take the same so far into their consideration, that there might, by their wisdom, som expedient be found out, as well for the countrey's securitie against Sir Williams irregular proceedings, as that hee, and armye, might unmollest prosecute the Indian war. Ading, that neather himselfe, nor those under his command, thought it a thing consistent with reason, or common sense, to advance against the common enemy, and in the meane time want insurence (when they don the worke abrode)

not to have their throts cut when they should returne home, by those who had set them to worke. Being confident that Sir William and som others with him, through a sence of their unwarrantable actions, would do what was possible to be don, not only to destroy himselfe, but others (privie to their knavery) now ingaged in the Indian servis with him.

After that Bacon had urged what he thought meet for the better carrying on of those affaires, now hammering in his head, it was concluded by the wholl Convention, that for the establishing the Generall and armye, in a consistency of safety, and that, as well upon his march against the Indians, as when he should return from the servis, and also for the keeping the countrey in peace, in his absence, that there should be a test or recognition drawne, and subscribed by the wholl country, which should oblige them, and every of them, not to be aiding nor assisting Sir William Berkeley (for now he would not afford him the title of Governour) in any sort to the molestation, hindrance or detriment of the Generall and Army. This being assented to, the Clark of the Assembley was ordered to put the same into forme. Which, while he was a doeing, the Generall would needs have another branch added to the former, viz. That the people should not onely be obliged, not to be aideing Sir W. B. against the Generall, but the force of this recognition should be obliged to rise in arms against him, if he with armed forces should offer to resist the Generall, or disturb the countreys peace, in his absence, and not only so, (but to make the engagement A-la-mode Rebellion) he would have it added, that if any forces should be sent out of England, at the request of Sir William, or otherways to his aide, that they were likewise to be opposed till such time as the countreys cause should be sent *home*, and reported to his most sacred Majesty.

An Oath projected

These two last branches of this bugbeare did marvellously startle the people, especially the very last of all, yet to give the Generall satisfaction he

willing they were to give him all the securitye that lay in their power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first, as they sood single, but not to anye, if the last must be joined with them. But the Generall used or urged a great many reasons for signing the whole ingagement, as it was presented in the three conjoined branches, otherways no securitye could be expected neather to the countrey, armye, nor himselfe. Therefore he was resolved, if that they would not doe, what he did judge so reasonable, and necessary to be don, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his commission to the assembley, and let the countrey find some other servants to go abrode and do their Worke.

Bacons reasons for the taking the oath.

For, says he, it is to be considered that Sir William hath already proclaimed me a Rebell, and it is not unknown to himselfe that I both can and shall charge him with no less than treason. And it is not onely myself that must and is concerned in what shall be charged against him: But severall gentlemen in the countrey besides; who now are, and ever will be against his intress, and of those that shall adhere to his illegal proseedings, of which he being more than ordnarily sensible, it cannot in common reason be otherways conceved, but that he, being assisted by those forces, now imployed, that they shall not be wholly imployed to the destruction of all those capeable to fram an accusation against him, to his sacred Majesty. Neather can it be reasonably apprehended, that he will ever condescend to any friendly accommodation with those that shall subscribe to all, or any part of this ingagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendered up to his marcy to be proseeded against as he shall see fitt: and then how many, or few, those may be, whom he shall make choice of to be sent into the tother world that he may be rid of his feares in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things was (by many of those who were of this meeting) urged pro and con, concerning the taking or not taking of the ingagement:—But such

was the resolute temper of the Generall, against all reasoning to the contrary, that the wholl must be swallowed or ells no good would be don. In the urging of which he used such suttill and specious pretences; som times for the pressing, and not to be dispensed with necessity, in regard of those feares the wholl Collony was subjected to through the daily murthers perpetrated by the Indians, and then againe opening the harmlessness of the Oath, as he would have it to be, and which he manidged solely against a grate many of those counted the wisest men in the Countrey, with so much art and sophisticall dexterity that at length there was little saide by any against the same. Especially when the Gunner of York fort arrived, imploring aid to secure the same against the Indians; adding that there was a great number of poor people fled into it for protection, which could not be unless there was som speedy course taken to reinforce the said Fort with Munition and Arms, otherways it, and those fled to it, would go nere hand to fall into the power of the Heathen.

The Generall was som what startled at this newes, and accordingly expostulated the same, how it could possible be that the most conciderablest fortris in the Countrey, should be in danger to be surprised by the Indians. But being tould that the Governour, the day before, had caused all the Arms and Amunition to be conveyed out of the Fort into his owne vessell, with which he was saled forth of the countrey, as it was thought, it is strange to think, what impression this Story made upon the peoples apprehentions. In earnist this action did stager a grate many, otherways well inclined to Sir William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. However, this was no grate disadvantage to Bacons designes; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster bisness, before mentioned, by frameing and stomping out to the peoples apprehentions what commentaries, or interpretations, he

pleased, upon the least oversight by the Governour commited; which hee managed with so much cuning and subtillety, that the peoples minds became quickly flexable, and apt to receve any impression, or simillitude, that his Arguments should represent to their ill discerning judgments; in so much that the oath became now more smooth, and glib, to be swallowed, even by those who had the greatest repugnancy against it; so that there was no more descourses used neather for restrictions, nor inlargements; onely this salvo was granted unto those who would clame the benefit of it (and som did soe) yet not exprest in the writen copey (viz.) That if there was any thing in the same of such dangerous consequence that might tant the subscribers Alegence, that then they should stand absolved from all and every part of the saide oath; unto which the Generall gave his consent (and certainely he had too much cuning to denye, or gaine say it) saying God forbid that it should be other ways ment, or intended; adding that himselfe (and Armye by his command) had, som few days before taken the Oath of Alegience, therefore it could not rationally be imagined that eather himselfe, or them, would goe about to act, or do, any thing contrary to the meaneing of the same. The oath taken.

Bad ware requires a darke store, while sleeke and pounce inveagles the chapmans judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering their exceptions, against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respective justices of peace in their severall jurisdictions, were not to have the same lattitude. For the power of affording cautions, and exceptions, was solely in the imposer, not in those who should hereafter administer the oath; whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same (though it might haserd their choakeing) as it stood in the very letter thereoff. Neather can I apprehend what benefit could possibly accrue more unto those who were indulged, the fore saide previl-

lidg than to those who were debar'd the same; since both subscribed the ingagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaneing of the subscriber. It is trew, before God and their owne conciences, it might be pleadeable, but not at the bar of humane proseedings, without a favourable interpretation put upon it, by those who were to be the judges.

While Bacon was contriveing, and imposeing this illegall oath, for to secure himselfe against the Govornour, the Governour was no less sollicitous to finde out meanes to secure himself against Bacon. Therefore, as the onely place of securytie, within the Collony, to keep out of Bacons reach, he sales over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the mane part of Verginia through the enterposition of the grate Bay of Cheispiock, being itselfe an isthmus, and commonly called the Eastern shore. It is bounded on the East with the maine oacian, and and on the South west with the aforesaide Bay, which runs up into the countrey navigable for the bigest ships more than 240 miles, and so consequently, not approacheable from the other parts of Verginia but by water, without surrounding the head of the saide Bay: A labour of toyle, time, and danger, in regard of the way, and habitations of the Indians.

Sir W. sails for Accomack.

It was not long before Bacon was informed where the Governour had taken sanctuary; neather was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had don: He did allso apprehend that as he had found the way out, he could (when he saw his own time) find the way in againe; and though he went forth with an emty hand he might return with a full fist. For the preventing of which (as he thought) he despach'd away one Esq. Bland, a Gent: man of an active and stiring dispossition, and no grate admirer of Sir Williams goodness; and with him, in Commission, one Capt. Carver, a person aquainted with navigation, and one (as they say) indebted to Sir W. (before he dyed) for his life, upon a duble

Bland and Carver sent to Accomack.

ınt with forces in two ships, eather to block Sir
iam up in Accomack, or other ways to inveagle
nhabitants (thinkeing that all the countrey, like
'riere in the Bush, must needs be so mad as to
e to their pipe) to surrender him up into their
s.

ıcon haveing sent Bland, and the rest, to doe
servis, once more re-enters upon his Indian
h; after that he had taken order for the con- Bacon advanceth against the Indians.
ing an Assembley, to sit downe on the 4 of
ember, the Summons being authentick'd, as
would have it, under the hands of 4 of the
ıcell of State; and the reason of the Convention
ıanidge the affaires of the country in his ab-
:; least (as he saide) while he went abrode to
oy the Wolves, the Foxes, in the meane time,
ld com and devoure the Sheepe. He had not
h'd many miles, from his head quarters, but
news came poste hast, that Bland and the rest
him, were snapt at Accomack; betrade (as
of their owne party related) by Capt. Carver:
those who are best able to render an acount of
affaire do aver, that there was no other Treason
e use of but their want of discretion, assisted
he juce of the Grape: had it been otherways Carver taken and hanged.
Governour would never rewarded the servis
the gift of a Halter, which he honoured Carver
, sudenly after his surpriseall. Bland was put
ons, and ill intreated, as it was saide; most of
ıoulders owned the Governours cause, by enter-
themselves into his servis; those that refused
: made prissoners, and promised a releasement
ıe price of Carvers fate.

he Governour being blest with this good servis,
the better servis, in that it was efected without
d shed, and being inform'd that Bacon was en- Sir W. ships himselfe for the western shore.
upon his Indian March, ships himselfe for the
tern shore, being assisted with 5 ships and 10
ps, in which (as it is saide) was about a thou-
soulders. The newes where of outstriping
canvass wings soone reached the eares of those

left by Bacon, to see the Kings peace kep, b
sisting the Kings vice gerent. For before tha
Governour could get over the water, two fuge
was got to land, sent (as may be supposed)
som in Accomack, spirited for the Generalls
ill, to inform those here, of the same principl
the Governours strength, and upon what term
soulders were to fight. And first they were
rewarded with those mens estates who had
Bacons oath, catch that catch could. Sec
Upon what terms the Accomackians were to fight.
that they, and their heirs, for 21 years shoul
discharged from all impossition, excepting Ch
dues, and lastly 12 pence per day, dureing the
time of servis. And that it was further decreec
all sarvants, whose masters were under the Ge
Collours, or that had subscribed the ingage
should be set free, and injoy the fore ment
benifits, if that they would (in Arms) own
Governours cause. And that this was the
truth, and nothing but the truth, the two men
fore mentioned, deposed before Capt. Thorp
of the Iust-asses of the peace, for York count
ter that one Collonel Searsbrooke had more
dently declined the admiting these two scoun
to the test. Whether these fellows were ir
right, or in the rong, as to what they had narat
know not, but this is certaine, whether the
was trew, or false, it produced the effects of tru
peoples mindes ; who hereby became so much
tracted in their ressolutions, that they could
tell, at present, which way to turn themsel
The peoples perplexed condition.
while their tongues expressed no other languag
what sounded forth feares, wishes, and execrat
as their apprehentions, or affections, dictated ;
lookeing upon themselves as a people utterly un
being equally exposed to the Governours dis
sure, and the Indians bloody cruilties : Som c
ing the cause of their approacheing destruc
lookeing upon the oath to be no small ingred
helping to fill up the measure of their mise
Others wishing the Genralls presence, as the c

: of safety, while others look'd upon him as the
y quicksands ordained to swollow up, and sinke
ship that should set them on shore, or keep them
drownding in the whirle poole of confuseion.
the midest of these feares and peturbations, the Sir W.
ernour arrives with his fleet of 5 ships and 10 arrives at towne,
pes, all well man'd (or appear'd to be soe) be- Sep. 7.
the Towne; into which the Governour sends
ummons (it being possest by 7 or 800 Baconi-
for a Rendition; with a free and ample pardon
l that would decline Bacons intress, and owne
excepting one Mr. Drummond and one Mr.
nce a Collonel, and both active promoters of
ons designes: Which is a most apparent argu-
t, that what those two men (before men-
d) had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths.
his Honours Proclamation was acceptable to
t in Towne; while others againe would not
to it, feareing to meet with som after-claps of
nge: Which diversity of opinions put them all
a ressolution of diserting the place, as not Te-
e (but indeed had it bin fortifyed, yet they had
ommission to fight) while they had the liberty
doeing, before it should be wholly invested;
h that night, in the dark, they put in execution,
y one shifting for himselfe with no ordnary feare,
e gratest hast possible, for fere of being sent af-
And that som of them was posses'd with no ord-
feare, may be manifested in Collonell Larence,
e spirits were so much destracted, at his appre-
ions of being one excepted in the Governours act
nce, that he forsooke his owne howse with all his
h and a faire cupbord of plate entire standing,
h fell into the Governours hands the next morn-

he Towne being thus forsaken, by the Baco- The Ba-
s, his Honour enters the same the next day, conians forsake
t noone; where after he had rendred thanks un- the towne.
od for his safe arrivall (which he forgot not
erform upon his knees, at his first footeing the
e) hee applyes himselfe not only to secure what

hee had got possession of, but to increace and i
large the same, to his best advantage. And kno
ing that the people of ould useally painted the G
of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with han
to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing
of provissions, for to feed his soulders; and in t
next place for soulders, as well to reinforce h
strength within, as to enlarge his quarters abrod
But as the saying is, Man may propose, but G
will dispose; when that his Honour thought hi
selfe so much at liberty, that he might have the
berty to go when and where he pleased, his expe
tations became very speedily and in a moment fru
trated.

For Bacon haveing don his buisness against t
Indians, or at least so much as he was able to d
having marched his men with a grate deale of toy
and haserd som hundreds of miles, one way a
another, killing som and takeing others prissoner
and haveing spent his provisions, draws in his fo
ces within the verge of the English Plantation
from whence he dismiseth the gratest part of h
Army to gether strength against the next design
march, which was no sooner don but he incounte
the newes of the Governours being arived at town
Of which being informed he with a marvellous ce
lerity (outstriping the swift wings of fame) marc
eth those few men now with him (which hee h
onely reserved as a gard to his parson) and in a tri
Bacon blocks the Gov. up in towne. blocks up the Governour in towne, to the generall a
tonishment of the whole countrey; especially whe
that Bacons numbers was knowne; which at th
time did not exseed above a hundred and fifty, a
these not above two thirds at work neather. An a
tion of so strange an aspect, that whoever tooke no
of it, could not choose but thinke but that the Acc
mackians eather intended to receive their promis
pay, without desart; or otherways to establish su
signall testimonies of their cowardize, or disaf
tions, or both, that posterity might stand and g
at their reched stupidety.

Bacon soone perceved what easye worke he was likely to have, in this servis, and so begun to set a small an esteeme upon these mens curages, as they did upon their owne credits. Hee saw, by the Prolog, what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affaires accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once knowne, to those in towne, it might raise their hearts to a degree of curage, haveing so much the ods, and that manitimes number prevales against ressolution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lions strength was too weake, to strengthen the same with the Foxes Braines: and how this was to be efected you shall heare.

Bacon sends for severall Gent: women into the camp, and for what.

For emediately he despatcheth two or three parties of Horss, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime Gent: women, whose husbands were in towne. Where when arived he sends one of them to inform her owne, and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be plac'd in the fore frunt of his men, at such time as those in towne should sally forth upon him.

The poor Gent: women were mightily astonished at this project; neather were their husbands void of amazements at this subtill invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange, that the Divells black guard should be enrouled Gods soulders, they made it no less wonderful, that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entred a white garde to the Divell. This action was a method, in war, that they were not well acquainted with (no not those the best inform'd in millitary affaires) that before they could com to pearce their enimies sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives brest: By which meanes though they (in their owne parsons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better halfe to drop by gunshot, or otherways be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations,or some others, I do not know, that kep their swords in their scabards: But this is manifest, That Bacon knit more knotts by his owne head in one day, than all the hands in towne was able to untye in a wholl weeke: While these Ladyes white Aprons became of grater force to keepe the beseiged from falleing out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repell the weakest shot, that should have bin sent into his legure, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that right in his frunt, where he was to lodge his men, the Governour had planted 3 grate guns, for to play poynt blank upon his men, as they were at worke, at about 100 or 150 paces distance; and then again, on his right hand, allmost close aborde the shore, lay the ships, with their broade sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslante; this being the onely place, by land, for him to make his entrey, into the towne: But for your better satisfaction, or rather those who you may show this naritive to, who have never bin upon the place, take this short description.

The description of Iames Towne.

The place, on which the towne is built, is a perfect Peninsulla, or tract of land, allmost wholly incompast with water. Haveing, on the Sowth side the River (Formerly Powhetan, now called Iames River) 3 miles brode, incompast on the North, from the East pointe, with a deep creeke, rangeing in a cemicircle, to the west, within 10 paces of the River; and there, by a small Istmos, tack'd to the Continent. This Iseland (for so it is denominate) hath for Longitude (East and West) nere upon two miles, and for Lattitude about halfe so much, beareing in the wholl compass about 5 miles, litle more or less. It is low ground, full of Marches and Swomps, which makes the Aire, especially in the Sumer, insalubritious and unhelthy: It is not at all replenished with springs of fresh water, and that which they have in their wells, brackish, ill sented, penurious, and not gratefull to the stumack; which render the place

improper to indure the commencement of a seige. The Towne is built much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile; in which is comprehended som 16 or 18 houses, most as is the church built of brick, faire and large; and in them about a dozen familles (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting their liveings by keepeing of ordnaries, at extreordnary rates.

The Governour understanding that the Gent: women, at the Legure, was, by order, drawne out of danger, resolved if posible to beate Bacon out of his trench; which he thought might easily be performed, now that his Gardian Angels had forsaken his camp. For the efecting of which he sent forth 7 or (as they say) 800 of his Accomackians, who (like scholers goeing to school) went out with hevie harts, but return'd hom with light heeles; thinkeing it better to turne their backs upon that storme, that their brests could not indure to strugle against, for feare of being gauled in their sides, or other parts of their bodys, through the sharpness of the wether; which (after a terable noyse of thunder and lightning out of the Easte) begun to blow with a powder (and some lead too as big as musquitt boolitts) full in their faces, and that with so grate a violence, that som of them was not able to stand upon their leggs, which made the rest betake themselves to their heeles; as the onely expedient to save their lives; which som amongst them had rather to have lost, then to have own'd their safety at the price of such dishonourable rates.

A salley made upon Bacon.

The Governour was extremely disgusted at the ill management of this action, which he exprest in som passionate terms, against those who merited the same. But in ernist, who could expect the event to be otherways then it was, when at the first notis given, for the designed salley to be put in execution, som of the officers made such crabed faces at the report of the same, that the Guner of Yorke Fort did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy

a Collonells, or a Captains, Commission, i chunke of a pipe.

The next day Bacon orders 3 grate guns t brought into the camp, two whereof he plants his trench. The one he sets to worke (pl som calls it, that takes delight to see stately s turs beated downe, and men blowne up into th like Shutle Cocks) against the Ships, the against the enterance into towne, for to open a p to his intended storm, which now was resolve on as he said, and which was prevented b

The Gov. leaves Towne.

Governours forsakeing the place, and shiping selfe once more to Accomack; takeing along him all the towne people, and their goods, lea all the grate Guns naled up, and the howses for Bacon to enter at his pleasure, and which h the next morning before day: Where, contra his hopes, he met with nothing that might s eather himselfe or soulders desires, except few ses, two or three sellers of wine, and some small tety of Indian Corne with a grate many Tan'd

The Governour did not presently leaves I River, but rested at an Ancor some 20 miles t the towne, which made Bacon entertaine thoughts, that eather hee might have a desire enter his late left quarters, or return and block up, as he had Sir William. And that there som probabillety Sir W. might steare such a c was news from Potomack (a province withi North Verge of Verginia) that Collonell Bren marching at the head of 1000 soulders to towne in vindication of the Governours q The better to prevent Sir Williams designes (had a desire to returne) and to hinder his co

Bacon sets the towne on fire.

tion with Brent (after that he had consulted wi Cabinett Councell) he in the most barbarous m converts the wholl towne into flames, cinder ashes, not so much as spareing the church, an first that ever was in Verginia.

Haveing performed this flagitious, and sacr ious action (which put the worst of Sperits i

horid consternation, at so inhumane a fact) he marches his men to the Greene spring (the Governours howse soe named) where having stade (feasting his armye at the Governours cost) two or 3 days, till he was informed of Sir Williams motion, he wafts his soulders over the River at Tindells point, into Glocester county: takeing up his head quarters at Collonell Warners; from whence hee sends out his mandates, through the wholl county, to give him a meeting at the Court-howse; there to take the ingagement, that was first promoted at the Midle Plantation: for as yet, in this county, it was not admitted. While he was seduously contriving this affaire, one Capt. Potter arives in post haste from Rapahanock, with newes that Coll: Brent was advancing fast upon him (with a resolution to fight him) at the head of 1000 men, what horse what foote, if he durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the letter, but hee commands the drums to beate for the gathering his soulders under their collours; which being don hee acquaints them with Brents numbers and resolutions to fight, and then demands theirs; which was cherefully answered in the affirmative, with showtes and acclemations, while the drums thunders a march to meet the promised conflict: The soulders with abundance of cherefullness disburthening themselves of all impediments to expedition, order, and good discipling, excepting their oathes, and wenches.

Goes over into Gloster.

Bacon resolved to fight Brent.

Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days jurney (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his laberours before they came to their worke) but he meets newes in post hast, that Brents men (not soulders) were all run away, and left him to shift for himselfe. For they haveing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out of the towne they began to be afeard (if they should com within his reach) that he might beat them out of their lives, and so resolved not to come nere him. Collonell Brent was mightily astonished at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest

Brents men forsake him.

man, and ruin'd the fairest estate in Verginia; which was by their cowerdize, or disaffections, exposed to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after their own concernes and lives, then to take notis, eather of his vallour, or estate, or of their owne credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do or say; contrary to their own fancies.

This business of Brents haveing (like the hoggs the devill sheard) produced more noyse than wooll, Bacon, according to summons, meets the Gloster men at the Court howse: where appeared som 6 or 7 hundred horss and foot, with their arms. After that Bacon, in a long Harange, had tendered them the ingagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the only cause of this convention) one Mr. Cole offered the sence of all the Gloster men there present: which was sum'd up in their desires, not to have the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benefitt of Neutralitie: But this he would not grant, telling of them that in this their request they appear'd like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet, would do nothing whereby they might obtaine there salvation; and so offering to go away, one Coll: Gouge (of his party) calls to him and told him, that he had onely spoke to the Horss (meaning the Troopers) and not to the foote. Bacon, in som passion, replide, he had spoke to the Men, and not to the Horss; having left that servis for him to do, because one beast best would understand the meaneing of another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not onely refuse to take the Ingagement, but incouraged others to make him their example, Bacon committed him to the Gard; telling off him that it was his place to preach in the church, not in the camp: In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last, he was to say no more than what should please him; unless he could fight to better purpose then he could preach.

The oath tendered to the Gloster men.

Mr. Wading, a minister, imprison'd.

The Gloster men having taken the ingagement, (which they did not till another meeteing, and in another place) and all the worke don on this side the Western shore, Bacon thought it not amiss, but worth his labour, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confest that he was a Gentman of a liberall education, and so consequently must be repienish'd with good manners, which inables, and obligeth all civell parsons both to remember, and repay receved curteces: which made him not to forget those kindnesses the Accomackians bestowed, in his absence, on his friends, and their neighbours, the Verginians: and so now he resolved (since he had nothing eils to do) for to go and repay their kind hearted vissitt. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaneing, that they might not plead want of time, for want of knowledg, to provide a reception answerable to his quallety, and attendance. This was pritty faire play, but really the Accomackians did not halfe like it. They had rather his Honour would have had the patience to have stade till he had bin invited, and then he should have bin much more wellcom. But this must not hinder his jurney; if nothing eells interveine they must be troubled, with a troublesom guest, as well as their neighbours had bin, for a grate while together, to their extreordinary charge, and utter undoeing. But their kinde, and very mercyfull fate, to whom they, and their Posteritye, must ever remaine indebted, observeing their cares and feares, by an admireable, and ever to be cellibrated providence, removed the causes. For

Bacon designes to go to Accomack.

Bacon haveing for som time, bin beseiged by sickness, and now not able to hould out any longer; all his strength, and provissions being spent, surrendered up that Fort, he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death; after that he had implor'd the assistance of the above mentioned Minester, for he well makeing his Articles of Rendition. The

Bacon dyes October 1st.

onely Religious duty (as they say) he was obser
to perform dureing these Intregues of affaires,
which he was so considerable an actor, and
much consearn'd, that rather then he would decl
the cause, he became so deeply ingaged in the fi
rise thereof, though much urged by arguments
dehortations, by his nearest relations and b
friends, that he subjected himselfe to all those
convenences that, singly, might bring a man o
more Robust frame to his last hom. After he
dead he was bemoaned in these following li
(drawne by the man that waited upon his pers
as it is said) and who attended his corps to th
Buriall place: But where depossited till the G
erall day, not knowne, only to those who are res
lutely silent in that particular. There was ma
coppes of verces made after his departure, cal
lated to the Lattitude of their affections who co
posed them; as a rellish taken from both appeti
I have here sent you a cuple.

Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man.

DEATH why soe crewill! what no other way
To manifest thy splleene, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which, through thy tyrany, with him must fall
To its late caoss? Had thy rigid force
Bin delt by retale, and not thus in gross
Grief had bin silent: Now wee must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more then thousand slane
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him there lives must end.
If 't be a sin to think Death brib'd can bee
Wee must be guilty; say twas bribery
Guided the fatall shaft. Verginias foes
To whom for secret crimes, just vengance owes
Disarved plagues, dreding their just disart
Corrupted Death by Parasscellcian art
Him to destroy; whose well tride curage such,
There heartless harts, nor arms, nor strength cou
touch.
Who now must heale those wounds, or stop that b
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?

Who i'st must pleade our Cause ? nor Trump nor Drum
Nor Deputations ; these alass are dumb.
And Cannot speake. Our Arms (though near so strong)
Will want the aide of his Commanding tongue,
Which conquer'd more then Ceaser : He orethrew
Onely the outward frame ; this could subdue
The ruged workes of nature. Soules repleate
With dull Child could, he'd annemate with heate
Drawne forth of reasons Lymbick. In a word
Marss and Minerva, both in him Concurd
For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
As Catos did, may admireation strike
Into his foes ; while they confess with all
It was their guilt stil'd him a Criminall.
Onely this differance does from truth proceed
They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.
While none shall dare his obseques to sing
In desarv'd measures ; untill time shall bring
Truth Crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.
Here let him rest ; while wee this truth report
Hee's gon from hence unto a higher Court
To pleade his Cause where he by this doth know
Whether to Ceaser hee was friend, or foe.

Upon the Death of G. B.

Whether to Ceaser he was Friend or Foe ?
Pox take such Ignorance, do you not know ?
Can he be Friend to Ceaser, that shall bring
The Arms of Hell, to fight against the King ?
(Treason, Rebellion) then what reason have
Wee for to waite upon him to his Grave,
There to express our passions ? Wilt not bee
Worse then his crimes, to sing his Ellegie
In well tun'd numbers ; where each Ella beares
(To his Flagitious name) a flood of teares ?
A name that hath more soules with sorow fed,
Then reched Niobe, single teares ere shed ;
A name that fil'd all hearts, all eares, with paine,
Untill blest fate proclam'd, Death had him slane.
Then how can it be counted for a sin
Though Death (nay though myselfe) had bribed bin,
To guide the fatall shaft ? we honour all
That lends a hand unto a Trators fall.
What though the well paide Rochit soundly ply
And box the Pulpitt, into flattery ;

Urging his Rethorick, and strain'd elloquence,
T' adorne incoffin'd filth, and excrements ;
Though the Defunct (like ours) nere tride
A well intended deed untill he dide ?
'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us, to say
A two fould Passion checker workes this day
Of Joy and Sorow ; yet the last doth move
On feete impotent, wanting strength to prove
(Nor can the art of Logick yield releife)
How Joy should be surmounted, by our greafe.'
Yet that wee Greave it cannot be denide,
But 'tis because he was, not cause he dide.
So wep the poore distresed, Ilium Dames
Hereing those nam'd, their Citty put in flames,
And countrey ruin'd ; If we thus lament
It is against our present loyes consent.
For if the rule in Phisick, trew doth prove,
Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
We have outliv'd our sorows ; since we see
The causes shifting of our miserey.
Nor is't a single cause, that's slipt away,
That made us warble out, a well-a-day.
The Branes to plot, the hands to execute
Projected ills, Death loyntly did nonsute
At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
He huth commited Prissoner to the Grave ;
From whence there's no repreive. Death keep him close
We have too many Divells still goe loose.

The lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of fickle fortune. The countrey had, for some time, been guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave itselfe under a foole. Bacon had not long been dead, (though it was a long time before som would beleive that he was dead) but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacons Commission (or ells by the patterne of that cuts him out a new one) and as though he had bin his natureall heire, or that Bacons Commission had bin granted not onely to himselfe but to his Executors, Administrators and Assignes, he (in the

Ingram takes up Bacons Commission.

millitary Court) takes out a Probit of Bacons will and proclames himselfe his successor.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the countrey, had got upon his back the title of an Esquire, but how he came by it may pussell all the Heralds in England to finde out, until he informs them of his right name: however, by the helpe of this (and his fine capering, for it is saide that he could dance well upon a Rope) he caper'd himselfe into a fine (though short liv'd) estate: by marying here, with a rich widow, vallued at some hundreds of pounds.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his commission, was to spur or switch, those who were to pay obedience unto his Authorety, by geting himselfe proclaimed Generall of all the forces now raised, or hereafter to be raised, in Verginia: Which, while it was performing at the head of the armye, the milke-sop stoode with his hat in his hand, lookeing as demurely as the grate Turks Muftie, at the readeing of som holy sentance, extracted forth of the Alchron. The Bell-man haveing don, he put on his hat, and his Jannesarys threw up their caps; crying out as loud as they could bellow, God save our new Generall, hopeing, no doubt, but he, in imitation of the grate Sultaine, at his election, would have inlarged their pay, or ells have given them leave to have made slaves of the best Christians in the Countrey: but he being more than halfe a Iew himselfe, at present forbad all plunderings, but such as he himselfe should be parsonally at. Proclamed Generall

It was not long before the Governour (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacons death. He had a long time bin shut up in the Ark (as we may say) and now thought good to send out a winged messinger to see, if happily, the Delluge was any whit abated; and whether any dry ground emerg'd its head, on which, with safety, he might sett his foot, without danger of being wetshod in blood, which accordingly he effected, under the command of one

Major Beverly: a parson calculated to the Latitude of the servis, which required descretion, curage, and celerity, as qualetys wholly subservient to millitary affaires: And allthough he returned not with an Olive branch in his mouth, the Hyrogliph of peace, yet he went back with the laurell upon his browes, the emblim of conquest and triumph, haveing snapt up one Coll: Hansford, and his party, who kep garde, at the Howse where Coll: Reade did once live. It is saide that Hansford, at (or a little before) the onslant, had forsaken the capitole of Marss, to pay his oblations in the temple of Venus; which made him the easere preay to his enimies; but this I have onely upon report, and must not aver it upon my historicall reputation: But if it was soe, it was the last sacryfize he ever after offered at the shrine of that Luxurious Diety, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Verginian borne that dyed upon a paire of Gallows. When that he came to the place of Execution (which was about a mile removed from his prison) he seemed very well resolved to undergo the utmost mallize of his not over kinde Destinies, onely complaincing of the maner of his death. Being observed neather at the time of his tryall (which was by a Court Martiall) nor afterwards, to supplicate any other faviour, than that he might be shot like a soulder, and not to be hang'd like a Dog. But it was tould him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condemned as he was merely a soulder, but as a Rebell, taken in Arms, against the king, whose laws had ordained him that death. During the short time he had to live, after his sentence, he approved to his best advantage for the wellfare of his soule, by repentance and contrition for all his sins, in generall, excepting his Rebellion, which he would not acknowledge; desireing the people at the place of execution, to take notis that he dyed a loyal subject, and a lover of his countrey; and that he had never taken up arms, but for

Beverly takes Hansford.

Hansford Executed.

the destruction of the Indians, who had murthered so many Christians.

The business being so well accomplish'd by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise their spirits, that they had no sooner deliver'd their fraight, at Accomack, but they hoyse up their sailes, and back againe to Yorke River, where with a marvellous celerity they surprise one Major Cheise-Man, and som others, amongst whom one Capt. Wilford, who (it is said) in the bickering lost one of his eyes, which he seem'd litle concern'd at, as knowing, that when he came to Accomack, that though he had bin starte blinde, yet the Governour would take care for to afford him a guide, that should show him the way to the gallows. Since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon, in his first expedition against the Indians, without a commission.

Cheiseman and Wilford taken by Beverly.

This Capt. Wilford, though he was but a litle man, yet he had a grate heart, and was knowne to be no coward. He had, for some yeares bin an interpreter betwene the English and the Indians, in whose affaires he was well aquainted, which rendred him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian war. By birth he was the second son of a knight, who had lost his life and estate in the late kings quarill, against the surnamed long Parliament, which forst him to Verginia (the onely citty of refuge left in his Majesties dominions, in those times, for distressed Cavallers) to seeke his fortunes, which through his industrey began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had bin more perminent, and not destin'd his life to so wicked a death. Major Cheisman, before he came to his tryall, dyed in prison, of feare, of griefe, or bad useage, for all these are reported; and so by one death prevented another more dreadfull to flesh and blood.

Cheisman dies in prison.

There is one remarkable passage reported of this Major Cheismans Lady, which because it sounds to the honour of her sex, and consequently of all loveing Wives, I will not deny it a roome in this Narrative.

Mrs. Chiesemans grate affections for her husband.

When that the Major was brought into the Gov ernours presence, and by him demanded, what made him to ingage in Bacons designes ? Before that the Major could frame an Answer to the Governours de mand ; his Wife steps in and tould his honour that it was her provocations that made her Husband joyne in the cause that Bacon contended for ; ading, that if he had not bin influenc'd by her instigations, he had never don that which he had done. Therefore (upon her bended knees) she desired of his honour, that since what her husband had don, was by her meanes, and so, by consequence, she most guilty, that she might be hanged, and he pardoned. Though the Governour did know, that what she had saide was neare to the truth, yet he saide litle to her request, onely telling of her that she was a W——. But his honour was angrey, and therefore this expression must be interprited the efects of his passion, not his meaneing : For it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any woman, who hath so small affection, for her Husband, as to dishonour him by her dishonisty, and yet retaine such a degree of love, that rather then he should be hang'd, she will be content to submit her owne life to the sentance, to keep her husband from the gallows.

a kinde wife.

Capt Farlow executed.

Capt. Carver and Capt. Farlow was now (or about this time) executed, as is before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had maried Farlows neice. When that he went first into the servis (which was presently after that Bacon had receved his commission) he was chosen commander of those recrutes sent out of Yorke County, to make up Bacons numbers, according to the gage of his commission, limited for the Indian servis ; and by Sir William (or some one of the Councell) recommended to Bacon, as a fitt parson to be commander of the saide party. These terms, by which he became ingaged, under Bacons commands, he urged in his pley, at his triall : ading, that if he had, in what he had don, deny'd the Generalls orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment o

Court Martiall; and that he had acted nothing ut in obedience to the Generalls Authority. But t was replide against him, that he was put under acons command for the servis of the Countrey, gainst the Indians, which employ he ought to have ep to, and not to have acted beyond his bounds, as e had done: And since he went into the Army unler the Governours orders, he was required to search he same, and see if he could find one that Commissionated him to take up Arms in opposition to he Governours Authority and parson: Neather had acon any other power, by his commission (had the ame bin ever so legally obtained) but onely to make ar upon the Indians. Farlow rejoyned, that Bacon was, by his commission, to see that the Kings peace was kep, and to suppress those that should endeavour to Perturbe the same. It was replyed, this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but was required to consider, whether the Kings peace was to be kep in resisting he Kings emediate Governour, so as to levy a war against him; and so commanded him to be silent while his sentence was pronounced. This man was much pitied by those who were acquainted with him, as one of a peaceable disposition, and a good scholer, which one might think should have enabled him to have taken a better estimate of his imployment, as he was acquainted with the Mathumatiks: But it seems the Asstrolabe, or Quadrant, are not the fittest instruments to take the altitude of a subjects duty; the same being better demonstrated by practicall, not speculative observations.

The nimble, and timely servis, performed by Major Beverly (before mentioned) having opened the way, in some measure, the Governour once more salleyeth out for the Westerne shore, there to make tryall of his better fortune; which now began to cast a more favourable aspect upon him and his affaires; by removeing the maine obsticles out of the way, by a death, eather naturcall, or violent, (the one the ordnary, the other the extraordinary

Sir. W. reinoves to York river.

workings of Providence) which had with such pertinances, and violent perstringes, oposed his most auspicious proseedings. The last time he came, he made choyce of Iames River; now he was resolved to set up his rest in Yorke, as haveing the nearest vicinity to Gloster County (the River onely interposeing betwene it and Yorke) in which though the enemie was the strongest (as desireing to make it the seate of the Warr in regard of severall locall conveniences) yet in it he knew that his friends was not the weakest, whether wee respect number, or furniture. It is trew they had taken the ingagement (as the rest had) to Bacon; but he being dead and the ingagement being only personall, was laide in the grave with him, for it was not made to himselfe, his heirs, executors, administrater, and assignes; if other ways it might have bin indued with a kind of immortality; unless the sword, or juster (or grater) power might happen to wound it to death. But, however, Bacon being dead, and with him his Commission, all those, who had taken the ingagement, were now at liberty to go and chuse themselves another master.

But though his honour knew that though they were discharged from the binding power of the oath, yet they were not free from the commanding power of those men that was still in Arms, in persuance of those ends for which the ingagement was pretended to be taken: And that before this could be efected, those men must first be beaten from their arms, before the other could get their heeles at liberty, to do him any servis. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those blocks which stoode in the Gloster mens way: which being once don, it must take away all Pretences, and leave them without all excuse, if they should offer to sit still, when he, and his good providence together, had not onely knock'd off their shackles, but eather imprisson'd their Iaylers, or tide them up to the gallows.

He had with him now in Yorke River 4 shipps besides 2 or 3 sloops. Three of the ships he brought with him from Accomack; the other (a marchantman, as the rest were) was som time before arrived out of England, and in these about 150 men, at his mediate command; and no more he had when he ame into Yorke River: Where being setled in onsultation with his friends, for the manageing of is affaires, to the best advantage; he was informed hat there was a party of the Baconians (for so they ere still denominated, on that side, for destinction ake) that had setled themselves in their winter uarters, at the howse of one Mr. Howards, in Glos- r county.

The strength Sir Will. had, at his coming to Yorke.

For to keepe these Vermin from breeding, in heir warm kenill, he thought good, in time, for to et them ferited out. For the accomplishment of hich peice of servis, he very secretly despatcheth way a select number under the conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimbly performed the same, having the good fortune (as it is saide) to catche hem all asleepe. And least the good man of the owse should forgett this good servis, that Beverly id don him, in removeing his (to him) chargable uest, with these sleepers, he conveyes a good uantety of their landlords goods aborde: the Ba- nians (where of one a Leift. Collonell) to remane risoners, and the goods to be divided amongst hose whose servis had made them such; according o the Law of Arms; which Howard will have to e the Law of HARMS, by placeing the first letter f his name before the vowill A.

Beverly surpriseth Coll: Harris in Gloster.

But in ernist (and to leave jesting) Howard did ally think it hard measure, to see that go out of is store, by the sword, which he intended to deliver ut by the Ell, or yard. Neather could his wife alfe like the markitt; when she saw the Chapmen arey her Daughters Husband away Prissoner, and er owne fine clothes goeing into captivity; to be ould by match and pin; and after worne by those ho (before these times) was not worth a point;

yet it is thought, that the ould Gent: woman, wa not so much concern'd that her Son in Law wa made a prissoner, as her Daughter was vext, to se they had not left one man upon the Plantation, t comfort, neather herself nor mother.

The Gloster men rise for Sir W.

This Block (and no less was the commander-i the fore mention'd sleepers) being removed out o the way, the Gloster men began to stir abrode: n provoked thereto out of any hopes of getting, bu through a feare of loseing. They did plainly pe ceve that if they themselves did not goe to work somebody ells would, while they (for their negli gence) might be compeld to pay them their wages and what that might come to they could not te since it was probable, in such servises, the Laberou would be their own carvers; and it is common knowne, that soulders make no conscience to tak more then their due.

What soulders at West-Point.

The worke that was now to be don, in these par (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) wa cut out into severall parcells, according as th Baconians had devided the same. And first Wests Point (an Isthmos which gives the denom nation to the two Rivers, Pomankey and Mattap ny (Indian names) that branch forth of York Rive som 30 miles above Tindells point) there was plan ed a garde of about 200 soulders. This place B con had designed to make his prime Randevouz or place of Retreat, in respect of severall locall co venencis, this place admited off, and which hee foun fitt for his purpose, for sundry reasons. Here it wa I thinke, that Ingram did chiefly reside, and fro whence he drew his recruts, of men and munitio The next Parcell, considerable, was at Green-spri (the Governours howse) into which was put abo 100 men and boys, under the command of one Ca

At Greene Spring.

Drew; who was ressolutely bent (as he said) to ke the place in spite of all oppossition, and that might the better keepe his promise he caused all t Avenues, and approaches to the same, to be barac do'd up, and 3 great guns planted to beate of t

Assalents. A third parcell (of about 30 or 40) was put into the howse of Collonell Nath. Bacons (a gent: man related to him deceased, but not of his principles) under the command of one Major Whay, a stout ignorant fellow (as most of the rest) as may be seene hereafter; these were the most considerablest parteys that the Gloster men were to deal with, and which they had promised to reduce to obedience, or other ways to beate them out of their lives, as som of them (perhaps not well aquainted with millitary affairs, or too well conseated of there owne vallour) bosted to doe. At Coll. Bacon's.

The Parson that, by commission, was to perform this worke, was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this servis so entitled, as it is said) a gent: man that in his time had hued out many a knotty peice of worke, and soe the better knew how to handle such ruged fellowes as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to congregate his men at (I say congregate, as a word not improper, since his second in dignity, was a Minester, who had lade downe the Miter and taken up the Helmett) was at one Major Pates (in whose howse Bacon had surrendred up both life and commission; the one to him that gave it, the other to him that toke it) where there apeared men enough to have beaten all the Rebells in the countrey, onely with their Axes and Hoes, had they bin led on by a good overseer.

I have eather heard, or have read, That a compleate Generall ought to be owner of these 3 indu-ments: Wisdom to foresee, Experience to chuse, and Curage to execute. He that wants the 2 last, can never have the first; since a wise Man will never undertake more then he is able to perform; He that hath the 2 first, wanting the last, makes but a lame commander; since Curage is an inseperable Adjunct to the bare name of a soulder, much more to a Generall: He that wants the second, haveing the first and the last, is no less imperfict than the other; since without experience, wisdom and cur- The properties of a good generall.

age (like yong Docters) do but grope in the darke, or strike by gess.

Much about the time that the Gloster men mustred at M. Pates, there was a riseing in Midlesex, upon the same acount: Who were no sooner gott upon their feet, but the Baconians resolves to bring them on their knees. For the efecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his Leift. Generall, (a man much like the master) with a party of Horss, to do the worke. M. L. Smith was quickly inform'd upon what arend Walklett was sent, and so, with a generous ressolution, resolves to be at his heeles, if not before hand with him, to helpe his friends in their distress. And because he would not all together trust to others, in affaires of this nature, he advanceth at the head of his owne Troops, (what Horss what Foote for number, is not in my intillegence) leaveing the rest for to fortify Major Pates Howse, and so speeds after Walklett who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his worke, with litle labour, and (hereing of Smiths advance) was prepareing to give him a Reception answerable to his designements: swareing to fight him though Smith should out number him cent per cent; and was not this a dareing ressolution of a Boy that hardly ever saw a sword, but in a scaberd?

A rising in Midlesex.

Walklett sent to suppress it.

Smith marches after Walklett.

In the meane time that this buisness was a doeing, Ingram understanding upon what designe M. L. Smith was gon about, by the advice of his officers strikes in betwene him and his new made (and new mand) Garisson at M. Pates. He very nimbly invests the Howse, and then summons the soulders (then under the command of the fore said minester) to a speedy rendition, or otherways to stand out to mercy, at their utmost perill. After som toos and froes about the buisness (quite beyond his text) the minester accepts of such Articles, for a surrender, as pleased Ingram, and his Mermidons, to grant.

Ingram takes the Gloster men at M. Pates.

Ingram had no sooner don this jobb of jurney worke (of which he was not a litle proud) but M

L. Smith (haveing retracted his march out of Midlesex, as thinkeing it little less then a disparagement to have any thing to doe with Walklett) was upon the back of Ingram, before he was aware, and at which he was not a litle daunted, feareing that he had beate Walklett to pieces, in Midlesex. But he perceveing that the Gloster men did not weare (in their faces) the countinances of conquerers, nor their cloathes the marks of any late ingagement (being free from the honourable staines of Wounds and Gun shott) he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to feare the worst: and what the properties of feare is, let Feltham tell you, who saith, That if curage be a good oriter, feare is a bad counceller, and a worse Ingineare. For instead of erecting, it beates and batters downe all Bullworks of defence: perswadeing the feeble hart that there is no safety in armed Troops, Iron gates, nor Stone walls. In oppossition of which Passion I will appose the Properties of it's Antithesis, and say, That as som men are never vallent but in the midst of discourse, so others never manifest their curage but in the midst of danger: Never more alive then when in the jawes of Death, crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, swords and guns; and then not so much laying about them through desparation, or to save their lives, as through a Generossety of Spirit, to trample upon the lives of their enimies.

M. L. Smith retracts his march from Walklett.

For the saveing of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generossety of Curage) one Major Bristow (on Smiths side) made a Motion to try the equity, and justness of the quarill, by single combett: Bristow proffering himselfe against any one (being a Gent.) on the other side; this was noble, and like a soulder. This motion (or rather challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffer'd by Bristow; Ingram swareing, the newest oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fetch'd back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of their

Major Bristow chall: to Ingram.

cause, or in consideration of the desparety that betwene the two Antagonists. For though it r be granted, that in a private condition, Bristow the better man, yet now it was not to be alowe Ingram was entitled.

This buisness not fadging, betwene the two c pions, the Gloster men began to entertaine str and new Ressolutions, quite Retrograde to pretentions, and what was by all good men exp from the promiseing asspects of this there Le ing against a usurping power. It is saide t good cause and a good Deputation, is a lawfull thorety for any Man to fight by; yet neather of t joyntly nor severally, hath a coercive power, to a man a good soulder: If he wants Courage, th he is inlisted under both, yet is he not st quoyne: he is at best but Coper, stampt wit Kings impress, and will pass for no more the just vallew. As to a good cause, doutless, the satisfied themselves as to that, ells what were at this time a contending for, and for whom? as for a good Deputation, if they wanted that, w fore did they so miserably befoole themselves, run into the mouths of their enimies, and th stand still like a company of sheep, with the at their throtes, and never so much as offer to F for the saving of their lives, liberties, estates, what to truly vallient men is of greater vallew these, their creditts? all which now lay at the cy of their enimies, by a tame surrender of Arms and Parsons into the hands of Ingram (out strikeing one stroke) who haveing made al cheife men prissoners (excepting those who firs away) he dismist the rest to there owne abodes, to sum up the number of those that were e slane or wounded, in this servis.

The Gloster men submit to Ingram.

Much about this time, of the Gloster buis his hon. sends abrode a party of men, from boarde, under the command of one Hubert F to fferitt out a company of the Rebells, who Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of N

Farrill attemps the Baconians under Whalys command.

, before mentioned. Coll. Bacon himselfe, and
ll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see
nanagement of the enterprise; about which
ɔke all possible care, that it might prove for-
For they had so sooner resolved upon the
but they consult on the manner, which was
ffected by a Generossety paralell with the
; which required Curage, and expedition:
concludes not to answer the Centreys by fire-
t to take, kill, or drive them up to their Ave-
ıd then to enter pell mell with them into the
this method was good had it bin as well
d, as contrived. But the Centrey had no
made the challinge, with his mouth, demand-
o coms there? but the other answer with
usquits (which seldom speakes the language
ds) and that in so loud a maner, that it
l those in the howse to a defence, and then in-
ture to salley out. Which the other perceve-
ıtrary to their first orders) wheeles of from
ger, to finde a place for their securytie,
hey in part found, behinde som out build-
d from whence they fired one upon the oth-
ing the Bullits leave to grope their owne
he dark (for as yet it was not day) till the
l was shot through his loynes; and in his
the soulders (or the greater part) through
arts, now sunke into their heels which they
w making use of instead of their hands, the
o save their jackits, of which they had bin
ly stript, had they com under their enimies
who knowes better how to steale then fight, Farrill kild.
standing this uneven cast of Fortunes mal-
ing a conflict, in which the losers have cause
ıt, and the winers Faith to give God thanks;
vith the same devotion Theives do when that
ve stript honest men out of their mony.
as none but their Generall kild, whose
sion was found droping-wett with his owne
in his pockitt; and 3 or 4 taken prisoners;
ounded not knowne, if any, in their backs;

as their enimies say; who glory'd more in their Conquest then ever Scanderbeg did, for the gratest victory he ever obtained against the Turkes. If Sir Williams cause were no better then his fortunes, hitherto, how many prossellites might his disasters bring over to the tother side? but God forbid that the justice of all quarills should be estimated by their events.

Yet here in this action (as well as som other before) who can chuse but deplore the strange fate that the Governour was subjected to, in the evill choyce of his cheife-commanders, for the leadeing on his millitary transactions; that when his cause should com to a day of heareing, they should want curage to put in their pleay of defence, against their Adverssarys arguments; and pittyfully to stand still and see themselves nonsuted, in every sneakeing adventure, or Action, that cal'd upon their Generossety, (if they had had any) to vindicate their indubitable pretences against a usurped power.

It is trew Whalys condition was desperate, and hee was resolved that his Curage should be conformable and as desperate as his condition. He did not want intilligence how Hansford, and som others, was sarved at Accomack; which made him think it a grate deale better to dye like a man, then to be hang'd like a Dogg; if that his Fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealeing; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty. But let Whalys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resolved to manage an oppossition against his Assalent according to his condition, yet those in the Howse with him stoode upon other terms, being two thirds (and the wholl exseeded not 40) prest into the servis, much against their will; and had a grater antipethy against Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cured of those Wounds he receved in the salley at Towne; which in this actio

proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage: Why then (if it was so) did he accept of this imploy (he haveing the liberty of refuseing) since none could be better aquainted with his owne condition (eather for strength or curage) better then himselfe? Certainely in this particuler, Farrills foolish ostentation was not excuseable, nor Sir William without blame, to complye with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himselfe a soulder, then a haire brain'd ressolution to put himselfe forward in those affaires he had no more aquaintance with then what he had heard people talke off: For the falure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refer'd to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to eroude into the Howse with the Centrey) was not onely injurious to their owne party by letting slip so faire an occasion, to weaken the power of the eniny, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the most considerablest parson on that side; but it was and did prove of bad consequence to the adjacent parts, where he kep gard: For whereas before he did onely take ame where he might do mischeife, he now did mischeife without takeing ame: before this unhapie conflict, he did levie at this, or that particuler onely, but now he shott at Rovers, let the same lite where it would he mattered not.

Capt: Grantham had, now, bin som time in Yorke River. A man unto whom Virginia is very much beholden for his neate contrivance, in bringing Ingram (and som others) over to harken to reason. With Ingram he had som small aquaintance, for it was in his ship that he came to Verginia; and so resolved to try if he might not doe that by words, which others could not accomplish with swords. Now allthough he knew that Ingram was the point, where all the lines of his contrivance were for to enter, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtaine this point. For allthough he did know that Ingram, in his private condition, was accostable

Ingram reduced by Grantham.

enough; yet since the Tit Mouse (by one of Fortunes figaryes) was becom an Elliphant, he did not know but that his pride, might be as immence as his power: since the Peacock (though bred upon a Dung-hill) is no less proud of his fine fethers then the princely Eagle is of his noble curage. What Arguments Grantham made use of, to ring the sword out of Ingrams hand, to me is not visible, more then what he tould me of; which I thinke was not Mercuri all enough, against an ordnary Sophester. But to speake the truth it may be imagin'd that Grantham (at this time) could not bring more reasons to convince Ingram, then Ingram had in his owne head to convince himselfe; and so did onely awate some favourable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is posible, now make) to bring him over to the tother side. Neather could he apprehend more reason in Granthams Arguments, then in his owne affaires, which now provok'd him to dismount from the back of that Horss which he wanted skill, and strength, to manidge: especially there being som of his owne party, wateing an opertunity to toss him out of the sadle, of his new mounted honours; and of whose designes he wanted not som intilligence, in the countinances of his Mermidons; who began for to looke a skew upon this, their Milk-sopp Generall; who they judged fitter to dance upon a Rope, or in som of his wenches lapps, then to caper, eather to Bellonies Bagpipe, or Marsses whisle.

But though Ingram was won upon, to turn honist, in this thing (thanks to his necessitye, which made it an act of compultion, not a free will offering) yet was the worke but halfe don, untill the sounders were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he himselfe, or any body ells, might command them to take up their Arms, when any mischeife was to be don: yet it was a question whether he, or any in the countrye, could command them to lay downe their Arms, for to effect or do any good. In such a case as this, where Authority

wants power, descretion must be made use of, as a vertue surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had bin but a while in the countrey, and had seene but litle, as to mater of Action, yet he had heard a grate deale; and so much that the name of Authority had but litle power to ring the sword out of these mad fellows hands, as he did perceve. And that there was more hopes to efect that by smoothe words, which was never likely to be accomplish'd by rough deeds: therefore he resolved to accoste them, as the Devill courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never to be performed promises: counting it no sin to Ludificate those for their good, that had bin deceved by others to their hurt. He knew that men were to be treated as such, and children according to their childish dispossitions: And allthough it was not with both these he was now to deale, yet he was to observe the severall tempers of those he was to worke upon.

What number of soulders was, at this time, in Garrisson at West Point, I am not certane: It is saide about 250, sum'd up in freemen, sarvants and slaves; these three ingredience being the compossition of Bacons Army, ever since that the Governour left Towne. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foote betweene there Generall, and the Governour; and that Grantham did manely promote the same, as he was a parson that favoured the cause, that they were contending for. Grantham at West-Point.

When that Grantham arived, amongst these fine fellowes, he was receved with more then an ordnary respect; which he haveing repade, with a suteable deportment, he aquaints them with his commission, which was to tell them, that there was a peace concluded betwene the Governour and their Generall; since himself had (in some measure) used his indeviours, to bring the same to pass, hee begg'd of the Governour, that he might have the honor to com and aquaint them with the terms; which he Upon what terms West-Point was surrendred.

saide was such, that they had all cause to rejoyce at, then any ways to thinke hardly of the same; there being a compleate satisfaction to be given (by the Articles of agreement) according to every ones particuler intress; which he sum'd up under these heads. And first, those that were now in Arms (and free men) under the Generall, were still to be retained in Arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, and for those who had a desire for to return hom, to their owne abodes, care was taken for to have them satisfide, for the time they had bin out, according to the alowance made the last Assembley. And lastly, those that were sarvants in Arms, and behaved themselves well, in their imployment, should emediately receve discharges from their Indentures, signed by the Governour, or Sequetary of State; and their Masters to receve, from the publick, a valluable satisfaction, for every sarvant, so set free (marke the words) proportionaally to the time that they have to sarve.

Upon these terms, the soulders forsake West-Point, and goe with Grantham to kiss the Governours hands (still at Tindells point) and to receve the benifitt of the Articles, mentioned by Grantham; where when they came (which was by water, themselves in one vessill, and their Arms in another; and so contrived by Grantham, as he tould me himselfe, upon good reason) the sarvants and slaves was sent hom to their Masters, there to stay till the Governour had leasure to signe their discharges; or to say better, till they were free according to the custom of the countrey, the rest was made prissoners, or entertain'd by the Governour, as hee found them inclin'd.

Of all the obstickles, that hath, hitherto, lane in the Governours way, there is not one (which hath falne within the verge of my intilligence) that hath bin removed by the sword; excepting what was performed under the conduct of Beverly: How this undertaken by Grantham, was effected, you have heard; though badly (as the rest) by me sum'd up.

Greene-Spring secured for William.

The next, that is taken notis of, is that at Greene Spring (before hinted) under the command of one Capt: Drew, formerly a miller (by profession) though now Dignifide with the title of a Capt: and made Governour of this Place by Bacon, as he was a parson formerly beholden unto Sir William; and soe, by way of requiteall, most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse. This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceveing (now) that there was more water coming downe upon his Mill, then the Dam would houlde, thought best in time, to fortifye the same, least all should be borne downe before he had taken his toule. Which haveing effected (makeing it the strongest place in the country what with grate and small Gunns) he stands upon his gard, and refuseth to surrender, but upon his owne terms: which being granted, he secures the place till such time as Sir William should, in parson, com and take possession of the same: And was not this pritely, honestly, don, of a Miller.

The gratest difficulty, now to be performed, was to remove Drummond and Larance out of the way. These two men was excepted out of the Governours pardon, by his Proclamation of Iune last, and severall papers since, and for to dye without marcy, whenever taken: as they were the cheife Incendiarys, and promoters to, and for Bacons Designes; and by whose councells all transactions were, for the grater part, managed all along on that side. Drummond was formerly Governour of Carolina, and allways esteemed a Parson of such induments, where wisdom and honisty, are contending for supriority; which rendred him to be one of that sort of people, whose dementions are not to be taken, by the line of an ordnary capassety. Larance was late one of the Assembley, and Burgis for Towne, in which he was a liver. He was a Parson not meanely aquainted with such learning (besides his natureall parts) that enables a man for the management of more then ordnary imployments which he subjected to an eclips, as well in the transactions of

Short carreer of Drummond and Larance.

the present affaires, as in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slave: And that in so fond a maner, as though Venus was cheifly to be worshiped in the Image of a Negro; or that Buty consisted all together in the Antiphety of Complections: to the noe meane scandle, and affrunt, of all the vottrisses in or about towne.

When that West Point was surrendred, and Greene Spring secur'd, for the Governour, these two Gen: was at the Brick-howse, in New-Kent: a place situate allmost oppositt to West Point, on the South side of Yorke River, and not 2 miles removed from the said point, with som soulders under their command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on that side; he haveing a ship, at that time, at Ancor nere the place. They had made som attemps to have hindred Granthams designes (of which they had gained som intilligence) but their indeviours not fadging, they sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the command of Whaley, to reinforce their own strength.

Drummond and Coll Larance at the Brick-howse, at New-Kent.

CÆTERA DESUNT.

NOTE.—This account of Bacon and Ingram's rebellion, collected from the histories of Virginia, is, that the country was very much disturbed by the Indians about the year 1674—5. The several tribes, upon the frontiers, were provoked by the decay of their trade, and by Sir William Berkley's attempt at discoveries, which they apprehended were intended to destroy them. Whenever they had an opportunity, they manifested their hatred and cruelty to the English. Many of the Virginians, worked up to a rage, demanded to be led against them, resolving, to extirpate all the nations of the Savages. The Governour, who was jealous of his prerogative, would not suffer them to judge when it was fit to make war. They had their meetings, and made complaints. But the Governour continued obstinate, and would not allow them to take up arms. Being provoked by this delay, they resolved to fight the Indians, and chose a General, who approved their zeal. This was Nathaniel Bacon, Esq. a gentleman liberally bred in England, having studied sometime at the *Temple*. He was young, brave, handsome, active, and eloquent. His merit advanced him to a seat at the Council Board. Some of his own servants had been killed by the Indians, and when he found the people disposed for war, he blew the coals of their resentment till they burst into a flame.

Col. Bacon died in 1676. Sir William Berkeley two years after. He was Governour of Virginia from the year 1640 to 1678.

of Fires in Boston, and other towns in Massachu-
in addition to those published in the Description of
n in the 3d. volume of the Collections of the Massa-
tts Historical Society.

ldition reaches to the end of the eighteenth century.
Collected by T. P.]

29, 1701. A DWELLING house and school house
ury were consumed by fire.
23, 1704. At Shrewsbury-Bank, the Rev. Nehe-
gers' house was burnt; a child and negro perish-
e flames.
0, 1710. A fire at this date in Charlestown con-
ome houses.
25, 1714. Two houses in Boston destroyed by
. B. The account from whence this is taken gives
culars.
, 1722. A fire broke out on the Long wharf in
Three warehouses were consumed, and others
l, and pulled down. The loss computed at 7000l.
money.
20, 1722. An outhouse in Boston, belonging to
ownsend, Esq. was burnt.
23, 1722. Mr. John Checkley's house in Corn-
osite the townhouse in Boston, caught fire; and
t threatened much, but little damage was sustained.
2, 1723, A fire in Boston early in the morning of
at Mr. Powell's house, in Quaker lane, near the
meeting house, which was consumed. A negro
in the family confessed he sat it on fire, and suffer-
l.
is month Mr. Cooke's buildings, the lower end of
eet, Boston, took fire, and four or five tenements
sumed.
4, 1723. At Watertown a fulling mill, a grist
l a dye house were burnt to the ground.
7, 1723. At Roxbury two houses were consum-
nging to Capt. John Keyes. It was attended with
y melancholly circumstances. In one of the

houses, five persons lost their lives, three of them Capt. Keyes' sons.

Jan. 31, 1724. This morning a fire broke out in a warehouse on Clarke's wharf, the north part of Boston, which consumed the building, and damaged the rigging of several vessels in the docks near it.

April 13, 1724, A fire in Mr. Dering's barn in Boston, in which much hay was destroyed.

July 31, 1724. The Rev. Mr. Emerson's house in Malden was consumed, with the greatest part of his library and furniture.

Aug. 12, 1724. At night, a fire at Oliver's Dock in Boston consumed a building; to stop its progress some other buildings near it were pulled down. The warehouse was the property of Col. Hatch.

Feb. 14, 1726. About 12 o'clock at night, a fire broke out in Charlestown, not far from the meeting house, which destroyed two or three tenements. Divers persons very narrowly escaped the violence of the flames.

Feb. 2, 1731. A butcher's shop in Fish street, Boston, caught fire about 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, which caused three or four families in the neighbourhood to abandon their dwellings.

Jan. 30, 1734. Mr. Green's printing office in Boston was burnt down in the night.

March, 1737. This month a fire caught in Union Street, Boston, about 4 o'clock, A. M. which threatened great damage.

I recollect a fire which happened in Union Street at or near Mr. Haislup, a pinn maker, in the neighbourhood of the Blue ball, a tallow chandler's shop, kept by the late Dr. Franklin's father, probably, where he was born, and I suppose is the fire here recorded.

Jan. 7, 1742. A house in Dedham, occupied by Mr. Gookin, was consumed, with most of the furniture.

Feb. 11, 1742. A fire broke out in a chaise house of Treasurer Foye's, in Boston, which destroyed two riding carriages.

Aug. 30, 1743. Two barns in Charlestown, one used as a store, belonging to Richard Foster, Esq. of that town, were consumed by fire.

Sept. 2, 1743. A dwelling house in Hopkinton, the property of Capt. James Gooch, was burnt in the evening of this day, with great part of the furniture; but what enhances the calamity is, that two negro children were burnt to death.

Sept. 16, 1743. Between the hours of 10 and 11 in the evening, Mr. Keighly, twine spinner, his work shop near Fort hill, Boston, together with a stable was consumed, the lost was estimated at 750l. sterling.

Feb. 23, 1744. This afternoon Mr. Sheaffe's malt house near Boston common, together with brew house and stock, and some other buildings, were destroyed by fire; the wind being very high carried the sparks and flakes to a barn and another building at some distance, which also fell a sacrifice to the flames.

Feb. 26, 1744. Sunday, P. M. The new meeting-house in Roxbury, which had been built about 2 years, was caught on fire by means of a stove, left in the house, after afternoon's service was over.

Feb. 11, 1745. Mr. David Colson, leather-dresser, at the south end of Boston, his large workhouse took fire,—it was discovered about 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning, which consumed it, with a large stock of leather, and several other buildings belonging to Mr. C. Other houses in the vicinity were much damaged.

June 15, 1745. At Wrentham, a fire in a dwelling house occupied by Mr. Benjamin Clarke destroyed it; the furniture below stairs was saved, but that above was burnt.

Oct. 3, 1745. A fire broke out in a sail loft at Marblehead, which in a short time consumed it, with about forty suit of sails, small and great. The damage computed to be 1000l. sterling.

Nov. 7, 1745. The house of Mr. Stephen Parker, tanner, at Leominster, with all the furniture and grain in the house, was reduced to ashes.

Nov. 16, 1746. Sunday morning about 2 o'clock, a joiners' shop in Water street, Boston, was discovered to be on fire. The property of Mr. George Hewes. It consumed the same, with a row of buildings contiguous.

Jan. 3, 1747. A fire happened in a brick house at the north end of Boston, part of which was occupied by a malt-ster. The inside of the house was mostly destroyed, with great part of its contents.

April 20, 1747. At Cape-Ann, a bake house, owned by deacon Parsons, was burnt to the ground, with about 4000 wt. of bread, 1500 bushells of grain, and a considerable sum in paper money.

Aug. 16, 1747. A barn at Plymouth was consumed by lightning, and a considerable quantity of English grain, hay, &c.

Aug. 16, 1747. Last Wednesday a barn at Medfield was consumed by lightning, with a quantity of hay. The same day a barn at Braintree shared the same fate, together with grain and hay.

Aug. 20, 1747. A barn at Woburn was burnt by lightning, and a horse killed.

Sept. 18, 1747. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, P. M. a fire broke out in a garret near Oliver's Dock in Boston, by which the roof was destroyed, and much other damage done to the house, and some others adjoining, and some persons hurt.

Dec. 7, 1747. Mr. Barrett's sail loft on Wentworth's wharf, Boston, near the draw bridge, and north of it, about 3 o'clock, P. M. was burnt, with a quantity of sails, duck, &c.

Feb. 13, 1748. Mr. Gore's house in Roxbury was consumed by fire.

April 10, 1748. On Wednesday night, Mr. Benjamin Sumner's house in Milton, caught on fire, and was consumed, with most of the wearing apparel of the family; caused by a defect in the oven.

Oct. 10, 1748. The dwelling-house of Mr. Joseph Williams at Roxbury, was consumed.

Oct. 22, 1748. A sail-loft near Oliver's Dock, Boston, was consumed. The building was large, and besides the loft, some cooper's, and blacksmith's shops were burnt; also a dwelling-house. Some shops and sheds were pulled down to prevent the flames spreading. The loss must have been great.

Nov. 7, 1748. About a fortnight ago, a large double house in North-Yarmouth was burnt; said to have been occasioned by a defect in the chimney.

Jan. 16, 1749. The house of Mr. John Remington, in Springfield, was lately consumed by fire, with its contents.

Jan. 18, 1749. On Wednesday, the meeting-house at Medway was burnt to the ground. It is reported to have been set on fire by a negro man servant, who has since absconded.

Jan. 27, 1749. A fire broke out in a turpentine house at the south end of Boston, which consumed it, with a quantity of turpentine.

April 21, 1749. On Friday night the house of the Hon. Brigadier Dwight, in Brookfield, was consumed, with all the furniture, papers, &c. to a great amount. A lad and a negro man servant perished in the flames; the rest of the family, being 14 in number, narrowly escaped with their lives. The Brigadier being speaker of the House of Representatives, was attending the General Court in Boston; where he received the melancholly tidings.

April 24, 1749. About 8 o'clock in the evening a large house in Watertown, belonging to Mr. James Davenport, together with the furniture and a variety of goods, amounting to several thousand pounds, were destroyed by fire.

The same day in the afternoon, the house of Mr. Jonathan Frothingham in Dedham, was burnt, with the greatest part of the furniture. Also a house of Mr. Penniman of Medfield, and some others we cannot particularly describe.

May 18, 1749. The house of Mr. James Plimpton in Stoughton was consumed. Himself and family were abroad when it happened. They saved nothing but what they had on their backs.

June 14, 1749. A fire broke out in Charlestown, when some shops and other buildings belonging to Capt. Codman were destroyed.

July 13, 1749. A barn in Charlestown was set on fire by lightning, and burnt down.

Aug. 4, 1749. A large barn, with a quantity of hay, was burnt in Charlestown.

Oct. 27, 1749. A farm house in Rutland, belonging to Mr. Jonas Clarke of Boston, was burnt down.

July 25, 1753. Wednesday night a fire caught in a cooper's shop on Bronsdon's wharf, the north end of Boston, which burnt with great violence, and consumed with it a number of tenements occupied by mechanics; also a quantity of mahogany, staves, boards, cordage, and other articles, to a large amount, but not ascertained; a schooner which laid near the wharf was totally destroyed.

Feb. 2, 1754. Mr. Benjamin Faneuil's stable behind the old brick meeting-house, Boston, about 8 o'clock in the evening was burnt, and a small building adjoining.

April 18, 1754. A fire happened in the westerly part of Boston, between the hours of 10 and 11, A. M. in which four or five houses were destroyed, and twenty families burnt out. The wind was high at N. W. and great danger of the fire spreading to other parts of the town; but providentially no other damage was done.

May 10, 1754. A new meeting-house erecting in Watertown, not quite finished, was suspected to have been set on fire, by some inhabitants of that town, dissatisfied that the house designed for publick worship was placed on any other spot, than that on which the former meeting house stood.

Jan. 29, 1759. A tar-house at West-Boston, adjoining Mr. McDaniel's rope-walk was burnt, together with a part of the roof of the walk. A quantity of ready made rigging and hemp and all the working tools were destroyed. Mr. McDaniel's dwelling house was damaged; a dwelling house near it was consumed. Several other buildings caught on fire, but were providentially preserved.

March 31, 1761. At Braintree a large barn belonging to Mr. Vesey, with a considerable quantity of hay therein, was consumed by fire.

April 23, 1761. Last Lord's day, in the time of divine service in the afternoon, the dwelling house of Mr. James Foster, near Dorchester neck, caught on fire, and was soon entirely consumed, with a part of the furniture.

Aug. 13, 1761. Wednesday, a barn belonging to Lt. Morse, of Medfield, was reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants of the town were attending a fast-day lecture on

account of the drought which prevailed. The fire it is said was occasioned by the burning of brush, which communicated the flames to the house.

Sept. 22, 1761. A grist-mill at Milton, belonging to Mr. Harris, was burnt, with a quantity of grain therein, occasioned, it is supposed, by overheating the spindle.

Jan. 24, 1764. The college library at Cambridge, consisting of about five thousand volumes of printed books, and some manuscripts, were consumed, with the philosophical apparatus, and the building that contained them, called *Harvard Hall.* This building was founded A. D. 1672; was forty-two feet broad, ninety-nine feet long, and four stories high; the fire, it is thought, began in a beam under the hearth of the library room, where a fire had been kept for the use of the General Court, then in session there, the small pox being in Boston.

N. B. Jan. 26, 1765. The General Court passed a resolve to rebuild Harvard Hall.

June 28, 1766. Between one and two o'clock, Saturday morning, several mills in Charlestown were burnt, occasioned by a pot of coals left in one of them, which communicated fire to the others.

Jan. 29, 1767. The jail in Boston, discovered to be on fire; but was extinguished before much damage was done. Supposed to have been caught by some criminals who escaped.

Oct. 22, 1767. Monday evening, Mr. Edward Edes' bake house, at the north end of Boston, took fire, and was consumed. Notwithstanding the wind was high, the progress of the flames was stopped by the usual alertness of the inhabitants on such occasions.

Jan. 25, 1768. Monday. Last Thursday night, a fire under Mr. Walley's shop on Market-square, Boston, destroyed considerable property.

Nov. 9, 1768. At York, upper parish, the house of the Rev. Samuel Lanklon of that place, with great part of the furniture, cloathing, &c. was consumed by fire;—the family were in great danger of perishing in the flames, it happening about midnight. Two or three of the children saved their lives by jumping out of the windows, in the back part of the house.

Jan. 14, 1769. Last Friday sen'-night, the store of Mr. William Rotch of Nantucket, lying on the south wharf of the island, was consumed, with a sail loft, and about thirty suit of sails. The fire happened by a pot of coals left in the loft.

Jan. 30, 1769. The new county jail in Boston was set on fire by some prisoners confined in it; the inside of the building was burnt. The principal incendiary was a Boston young man, who was with difficulty rescued from the flames he had himself assisted in enkindling. After their trial they were punished by whipping, and sitting on the gallows. The damage sustained is estimated at more than —— sterling.

Dec, 1, 1769. The dwelling-house of Josiah Quincy, Esq. at Braintree, was entirely destroyed by fire, with great part of the furniture. It began about 11 o'clock, after the family had retired to bed, and is said to have been caused by a defect in the oven.

Dec. 21, 1769. A schooner belonging to Boston from North Carolina, put into Cape Cod harbour, accidentally caught on fire, and was burnt to the water's edge.

Dec. 25, 1769. Early in the morning, the house of Mr. John Dennie in Little-Cambridge, was set on fire by a spark from the chimney falling on the roof, and burnt to the ground. The chief part of the furniture was saved.

Feb. 19, 1770. Monday evening the tan house, a building of Mr. Samuel Sargent in Chelsea, with a large quantity of leather was destroyed by fire about 9 o'clock.

March 18, 1770. At Newtown, the Rev. Jonas Meriam's house was consumed in the afternoon of this day.

Feb. 8, 1771. The house of Mr. Eliakim Spooner at Petersham was burnt, with all its furniture and provisions.

Feb. 21, 1771. Between 2 and 3 o'clock this morning, the store of Mr. Ephraim May at the south part of Boston, was discovered to be on fire. It is supposed to have happened by means of a spark flying into a basket of coal the preceding evening, which gradually kindled, and besides burning almost through the sides of the store, had communicated to, and penetrated two thirds through the staves of a hogshead of rum, the consequence of which, had it not been timely discovered, would have set all in a flame.

and endangered the dwelling-house and lives of those within it. Although the danger was apprehended to be great, that good providence, which protects us asleep or awake, prevented any further damage.

Feb. 28, 1771. The house of Mr. Todd, late of Newburyport, now of Georgetown, was consumed, with all its furniture. One of his sons, 19 years of age, perished in the flames, and two others were so burnt that their lives are despaired of.

June 16, 1771. Sunday afternoon, the house of Mr. William Wick of Malden, was burnt.

Oct. 5, 1771. A fire broke out in a shop near Barrett's wharf in Boston, which in a short time entirely destroyed it.

Nov. 1, 1771. This day about 10 o'clock, A. M. the dwelling-house of Dr Alexander Campbell, at Oxford, took fire by one of his apprentices breaking a bottle of oil of turpentine, which held about seven gallons, by taking ashes, supposed to be cold, to clean it. It took fire, and violently run to other bottles, which burst, and forced open the door of the room where the Doctor's wife lay, as she had lain in but a few days, who immediately was carried out with her bed and bedding, which is all that was saved, except a few trifles. His books and all his accounts were entirely consumed, as also a fine assortment of drugs, newly imported from England. This house was finished to the doctor's mind, which he enjoyed but a few weeks, and then the account says, this cruel master deprived him thereof, not leaving him nor his a shift of cloathing to put on. The loss is computed at least to be one thousand pounds lawful money.

Feb. 11, 1772. About 1 o'clock, P. M. the house of Mr. Richard Lowden, of Duxborough, innholder, took fire. It being considerably advanced before the discovery, though in the day time, there being a large quantity of flax in an upper chamber, where the fire appears to have begun, the weather very dry and windy, the house was consumed with nearly all its contents.

March 28, 1772. Saturday morning a fire broke out at Mr. Daniel Jacobs, in Danvers, which was occupied by two families, his own and that of his son; the entire house was destroyed with what was in it. The two families had

but just time to save themselves from the flames. The building was large, and contained besides the furniture and provisions, a large quantity of cocoa and chocolate. The loss estimated at several hundred pounds lawful money. How the fire began is not known.

April, 1772. A fire happened in the British Coffee-house in King-street, and did considerable damage.

May 11, 1772. Last week the dwelling-house of Mr. Ebenezer Fiske at Deerfield, took fire by some accident, and together, with its furniture, was totally consumed.

June 7, 1772. Major Robert Bayard's handsome seat on Jamaica Plain, accidentally caught on fire, and was burnt to the ground.

June 16, 1772. On Tuesday evening the house of Capt. James Dalton, in Water-street, Boston, caught fire by sparks from the chimney falling on the roof. The wind being high it was much injured before it could be extinguished; but the activity of the inhabitants saved it from destruction.

July 20, 1772. Monday, A. M. a carpenter's shop in the occupation of Mr. Sumner, near Trinity Church, Boston, was seen to be on fire, and was consumed, with a quantity of boards and stuff. The wind happened to be at W. otherwise the church, and some other buildings of wood, would probably have been burnt. A large pasture was in leeward of the shop, so that there was no danger that way; but the wind being very high drove the flakes as far as Long-lane, but no damage was done there.

July 21, 1772. Tuesday, a large barn at Boxford, the property of Mr. Luke Hovey, was consumed by lightning, with four tons of hay.

Oct. 30, 1772. A large barn, owned by Mr. James White in Dedham, was struck with lightning, and was burnt down, with a quantity of corn.

Nov. 16, 1772. In the night the blacksmith's shop of Mr. Richardson in Woburn, was burnt down.

Nov. 23, 1772. Wednesday about 12 o'clock at night a fire broke out in a barn at the north-end of Boston, belonging to the widow May. It was consumed, with one or two waggon loads of hogs stored therein. The fire communicated to a large dwelling house belonging to Samuel

Welles, Esq. which burnt the back part of it; but the fire was stopped before any more damage was done. It is supposed to be caught by a candle, or lighted pipe, carried into the barn.

Jan. 7, 1773. About one o'clock in the morning a fire broke out in a tan house of Mr. E. Winter Calef, in Horse lane, Boston, near the bottom of Water-street. There being a scarcity of water, the fire caught several other buildings at the lower end of Milk-street, which were burnt, with the shop and house of a wheelwright.

Feb. 21, 1773. At an uncommonly severe cold time, a fire broke out on Sunday morning, about 2 o'clock, in a joiner's shop at the bottom of Cole-lane, near the Mill pond, which speedily communicated to three dwelling houses, and consumed them, with several work shops. The water thrown on the houses most in danger, instantly congealed on the tops and sides of the houses; the wind was westerly and carried some of the flakes into Hanover-street, and as far east as Ann-street, to the water side, and caused many who attended the fire to return to their own dwellings that were in course of the flakes. Several persons had their hands and feet injured by the cold. Providence set bounds to this devouring element.

March 22, 1773. In the afternoon of this day a fire was seen breaking out from the second story of the new Court House in Boston. In the Court House chamber, the seat of the judges, the wainscot and cornice of that part of the house was found to be on fire, and had reached to the upper story; it was soon extinguished, but the building was considerably damaged. It is thought some sparks came through one side of the funnel in the chimney that joined the wood work.

April 4, 1773. Sunday, 4 o'clock, P. M. a fire happened in Back-street, Boston, in a building belonging to Mr. Alexander Edwards, cabinet maker, which in a short time was burnt, with his work shop, several stores, sheds, &c. and a considerable quantity of mahogany work, finished for sale. The fire reached a building occupied by a few Sandamanians as a house of worship, which was also burnt. The two Baptist meeting houses were in the neighbourhood of this fire, but escaped injury.

May 29, 1773. Saturday, a fire broke out in Cambridge jail, but by the seasonable assistance of the scholars, with the college engine, it was soon extinguished.

May 30, 1773. A store ship was accidentally burnt in Boston harbour.

July 2, 1773. On Friday night about eleven o'clock, the pot ash works at Douglas, with a quantity of pot ash therein, a ware house, a dwelling house, with all the furniture, and a shop of goods belonging to Dr. Jennison, of Mendon, were all destroyed by fire; the family had scarcely time to escape the flames, and save their cloathing. It is supposed the fire began in the lower part of the works; but was not discovered till the whole building was in flames, which rapidly communicated with the other buildings by means of a cask of powder in the upper part of the works.

Aug. 9, 1773. M. Gardiner's town on Kennebeck river, a large dwelling house, belonging to Dr. Silvester Gardiner of Boston, occupied by Mr. Gideon Gardiner, together with great part of the furniture, were consumed, by which accident the family is thrown into great distress, having at present no habitation but a barn.

Jan. 31, 1774. At Gorham, near Falmouth, the house of Mr. David Eldridge was destroyed by fire in the night. All his family got out except a little boy about seven years old, who perished in the fire. Another family which lived in the same house, about fifteen in number, chiefly young children, escaped by getting out of bed naked, waded through the snow to the barn, from whence they were removed to the nearest neighbour, after being in that suffering condition about three hours. The house nearest to that burnt, was distant a mile. A man discovered a light through the ray, and came to their assistance.

Jan. 1774. In this month the Essex hospital, on Cat island, near Marblehead, was burnt, supposed to be set on fire by some persons opposed to its being occupied as an inoculating hospital for the small-pox. Some persons were taken up on suspicion, and confined in Salem jail, from whence they were rescued by a mob collected at Marblehead, who obliged the proprietors of the hospital to declare, that no prosecution should be commenced on account of

burning the hospital. It is said the proprietors were only four in number, and their loss is about 1500l. sterling.

Feb. 22, 1774. One day last week, a large new dwelling house in Acton was entirely consumed, with great part of the furniture.

Yesterday Major Moore's house on Penobscot river, in the District of Maine, took fire in the night, and was totally destroyed, with all his provisions, and part of his house furniture. The loss about 500l. sterling money.

June 8. 1774. The house of the Rev. Joseph Jackson in Brookline was consumed by fire: part of his house furniture was saved.

Aug. 24. 1774. Wednesday morning about 2 o'clock, a fire broke out in Salem, which consumed four or five shops occupied by mechanics. A large warehouse with a quantity of molasses and 500 bushels of corn, great part of which was destroyed.

The loss of the latter was well supplied by a vessel which arrived there, with a generous donation from the people in Baltimore and Annapolis. The Massachusetts were then suffering under the Port bill.

Oct. 6. 1774. A very distressing fire this day in the same town of Salem. It began in the morning in a store belonging to, and close to the dwelling house of Peter Frye, Esq. in King street, and raged to a degree never before known in that town. It communicated with Dr. Whitaker's meeting house, and to the buildings around it. One large meeting house, eight dwelling houses, the custom house, fourteen buildings occupied as stores, shops, and barns, some sheds and outhouses, were consumed in the conflagration. Two engines from Marblehead, and several hundred of the inhabitants kindly assisted on this occasion. Mrs. Field, an old lady, who lived in one of the houses that was burnt, accidently struck her head against the chimney, as she attempted to quit the house, and expired immediately. Her remains were removed from the flames. Great quantities of merchandize and furniture were destroyed.

Nov. 13, 1774. At Petersham, Worcester county, between the hours of 8 and 9 o'clock, P. M. the house of Mr.

Jotham Houghton took fire, whilst he was at a short distance from home. The house was burnt, together with three of their children, under nine years of age, who had gone to bed; the youngest about ten years old was also in bed, but happily escaped.

June 17, 1775. Charlestown in Massachusetts. The whole town was set on fire by General How's British troops, and totally destroyed, not a fence nor a tree left standing.

Oct. 16, 1775. Great part of the town of Falmouth, Casco Bay, was laid in ashes by Captain Mowatt, a British naval officer, under the orders of admiral Samuel Greaves. It is said 139 houses and 275 stores were destroyed.

August 29, 1777. Last Saturday morning, the Powder Mill at Glastonbury caught on fire and blew up. Mr. Stocking and his three sons were in the mill at the time; a Mr. Kimberley and a young lad also. The master of the mill, his three sons, and the young lad expired the same day. Mr. Kimberley was burnt in such a manner, that his life was despaired of. The mill had been going but a few minutes when this awful catastrophe happened, occasioned probably by the works not being sufficiently wet.

Jan. 16 or 18, 1778. The elegant dwelling house of Peter Chardon, Esq. in Cambridge street, West Boston, occupied by Mr. Carter, a stranger, was destroyed by fire. The brick walls only remained.

Sept. 5, 1778. New Bedford, Dartmouth, about 58 miles from Boston, burnt by a detachment of British, under the orders of General Gray.

April 10, 1779. Saturday morning about 5 o'clock, a fire broke out at the south part of Boston in a barn, which, with a small tenement near, belonging to Mr. Gillam Tailer, were both consumed.

May 7, 1778. Friday a valuable dwelling house in Leicester, belonging to Mr. Phinehas Newhall, was totally consumed, with a considerable part of its contents.

April 3, 1782. The paper mills at Milton, belonging to Boies and McLane, and a slitting mill, were consumed by fire in the night.

Dec. 25, 1782. In the morning a fire broke out in the North Mills of Boston, near Charles river, which consumed the same, with some stores and stables; upwards of a thou-

bushels of grain were destroyed, a large quantity of and chocolate, seven horses and some hogs.

g 8, 1783. In the evening of this day, a barn at ridge, belonging to Nathaniel Tarcy, Esq. was set on y lightning, which consumed it, with his carriages, large quantity of hay.

ɜ21, 1783. Friday morning, between 2 and 3 'clock, n, occupied by Mr. Crane, wood wharfinger, at Oli- Dock, was seen to be on fire. It destroyed the barn, orses and all the tackling. The fire caught four or five barns, and in its progress consumed a dwelling house, carriages, and more horses; also a large warehouse illiam Phillips, Esq. with a considerable quantity of oods. The following melancholy accident happen- wo men who were just come from the neighbouring of Hanover, passing by the ruins, a stack of chimnies them; one of the men died immediately; the other ed but a short time.

e 14, 1784. About 8 o'clock, Monday morning, the aceti works lately erected at the bottom of Friends' , near the mill pond, Boston, were on fire, and almost destroyed the works.

). 1785. In this month great devastation was made e in the county of Berkshire, at Lenox, Tyringham, entown, and Lanesborough. From some material nstances it is suspected to have been done by some inded persons, who had plundered a house in one of wns, in which two female infants in bed perished in mes. At Stephentown a house and three small chil- were burnt. In another house a fat, lusty woman, ttempted to escape, could not effect it, and perished fire, with a child left in one of the chambers.

c. 5, 1787. At Uxbridge a dwelling house was con- d, in which four persons were burnt to death.

. 23, 1792. On Monday, an uncommonly cold day, broke out in the forenoon in the neighbourhood of ew North meeting house in Boston, in a large wood- ilding, and greatly endangered the meeting house. house in which the fire began and one adjoining it consumed. The exertions of the inhabitants, under

God, saved the meeting house, and the wooden buildings near it. Thermercury in Farenheit's Themometer this day, was 10 degrees below 0 ; a degree of cold seldom known in this latitude.

Feb. 1792. A dwelling house in Dorchester caught fire and was wholly destroyed.

Feb. 1792 In Boston, a barn, behind the Old Brick meeting house, belonging to Capt. D. Bradlee, took fire and was burnt down, and a quantity of hay was consumed.

April 14, 1792. Early in the morning, a fire began in the dwelling house of Mr. James Bowden, in Marblehead, and spread to four others, which it consumed, with several shops and barns, said to have been caused by a child of Mr. B. who unnoticed had taken a lighted candle into the closet of an upper chamber, which set some laths on fire.

May 5, 1792. Saturday morning, a fire was discovered breaking out in an upper story of a large dwelling house in Newbury-street, Boston, occupied by Mr. Samuel Davies, upholsterer, which, notwithstanding its first appearance was alarming, was soon extinguished by the citizens. Mr. Davies' loss, however, was considerable, as a part of his property was destroyed through the officiousness of unskilful and impetuous persons. A short time previous to the above, occupied by the same family, the same house caught on fire, but it was put out before it had done much damage.

Feb. 11, 1793. Wednesday evening, the tallow chandlery works in Battery-march-street, near Fort hill, caught on fire and was consumed. The works were occupied by Mr. Nichols, whose loss was estimated at 250l. sterling.

Feb. 16, 1793. In the night, the house of Mr. Samuel Bucknam in Falmouth. Those who were in the chambers were obliged to leap from the windows. A child of Mr. B. about four years old, and another of twelve, perished in the flames.

May 22, 1793. The extensive and productive paper mills in Watertown, belonging to Mr. Bemis, were entirely consumed. The loss was computed at 7000 dolls.

Jan. 24, 1794. A meeting house in Westford, was burnt. This accident was occasioned by a pot of coals left in it by the carpenters, who had been repairing it.

ct. 6, 1794. A large handsome edifice on Jamaica Roxbury, belonging to Mr. John Doane, which in days would have been completely finished to receive nt, accidentally took fire by means of the scattered gs, which burnt so rapidly as, in a short time, to re- t to ashes.

r 9, 1796. The house of Mr. Isaac Darrell, at West n, with the house adjoining, occupied by three fami- as burnt, with the chief of its contents. By the Mr. Darrell is deprived of the fruits of several years industry.

r. 30, 1795. Monday, a valuable snuff mill in New- belonging to a tobacconist in Boston, with half the therein, was destroyed by fire. Caught accidentally.

. 7, 1796. At Middleborough, a fire happened in use of the widow Dunham, which entirely consum- and its furniture, and it is painful to add, that two of ildren lost their lives by this event.

rch 9, 1796. Wednesday morning, a fire broke out, 4 o'clock, A. M. in a dwelling house, the lower end te-street, occupied by Mr. Sweetser, printer of the n Courier, newspaper, Mr. Wright, a tailor, Mr. Tu- watchmaker, and a black woman, who is peculiarly mate. This estate, by the will of her late mistress d, was obliged to support the black female during tural life. The house rented for 60l. sterling per f which she is now deprived. The house adjoining also burnt. The fire it is supposed began in the

rch 24, 1796. At Bristol, in the District of Maine, use of the Rev. Alexander McLean caught on fire, ed to have begun in the chamber of his eldest daugh- out 16 years of age, before she could be delivered he flames; she was burnt in such a manner as to n her death the next day. Most of the furniture valuable library were saved by the exertion of his ours.

. 17, 1796. The powder mill at Andover blew up; en were instantly killed, and some more wounded.

. 30, 1796. A barn at Charlestown this evening, ing to Mr. Caleb Swan, caught on fire, and was

burnt, with several loads of hay, probably the property of Mr. Hurd, who hired the barn.

Nov. 13, 1796. Sunday, P. M. the house of Mr. John West Folsom, printer, in Union-street, Boston, caught on fire whilst he and his family were attending public worship. There being books and stationary they were mostly destroyed, together with other valuable property. The house, though not consumed, was greatly damaged. The houses adjoining, though in great danger, were wonderfully preserved.

Dec. 27, 1796. A house in Dorchester, occupied by Mr. Joseph Tallman, and owned by Capt. McLane of Milton, was, with every article it contained, totally consumed, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the night. The crackling of the flames awoke Mrs. Tallman, who alarmed her husband, when springing from the bed and opening the door, the flames burst in upon them and made their situation deplorable. No avenues of escape presented, excepting the windows of the chamber, from which at the risk of their lives they threw themselves, naked as they got out of their bed; they were happily not much hurt, and found an immediate shelter from the inclemency of the season, in a house not greatly distant. The account of this occurrence makes no particular mention of any children.

Jan. 17, 1797. Last Friday evening, a shop in Amesbury, belonging to Mr. William Patten, was burnt down.

Feb. 25, 1797. Three large manufactories of cordage, and several dwelling houses, were, on Saturday, A. M. damaged and destroyed by fire at West Boston. The rope-walks belonged to Messrs. Jeffrey and Russell, John Winthrop, Esq. and Messrs. Tyler and Caswell. The former contained a large stock, and working tools, which, with about 200 feet of the walk, were preserved; a part of Mr. Winthrop's was also preserved, in which a part of his stock was deposited. Messrs. Tyler and Caswell literally lost their all. The total loss by this disaster, it is said, cannot be reckoned at less than 100,000 dollars. It is supposed to have caught by a spark from a fire just kindled under a tar kettle, which had been left three or four minutes.

March, 1797. The meeting house in Long Meadow, Hampshire county, was set on fire, the account says, by

some children of the devil. One taken into custody is a foreigner.

March 5, 1797. This morning a dwelling house in Boston, in Beacon-street, opposite the old alms house, occupied by Mr. William Turner, and a stable belonging to the estate of the late Governour Bowdoin, were destroyed by fire. Mr. Turner's family narrowly escaped becoming victims to the flames. It was purposely set on fire by a negro man, who had lived in the family, who on the trial was found guilty, and afterwards executed.

Mar. 18, 1797. A few days past, a large shed and part of a dwelling house in Roxbury, belonging to Mr. Fox, was burnt; supposed to be done designedly by a negro man, but the proof was not sufficient to convict him.

A barn belonging to Mr. John Andrews of Boylston, Rutland county, containing about fifteen tons of hay, was consumed by lightning a few days ago. Whilst the barn was on fire, Mr. Andrews went to it and rescued from the flames thirty head of cattle, and thirteen suckling calves. Some of them were scorched by the fire.

April 2, 1797. Mr. Williams' barn and corn-house in Roxbury were burnt this day.

Nov. 27, 1797. On Monday morning about 2 o'clock, a fire broke out in Ann street, Boston, occupied by Mrs. Broaders as a rendezvous house for sailors. It was discovered and the alarm given by a passenger in the street, and such was the height to which it rose, that the greatest exertions were necessary to prevent the threatened destruction. Some buildings adjoining the house which first caught fire were consumed with it; one of them joined the draw bridge, which passes over the mill creek, but having a high brick end, the flames were stopped from passing over the creek to the north of it, and catching the old wooden buildings which must have fallen a sacrifice and carried the fire into Fish street. Very little could be saved out of the buildings burnt.

Nov. 28, 1797. At Duxborough, Plymouth county, Doctor Eleazer Harlow's dwelling house took fire, and was consumed with the effects in it. Thirty three years ago the Doctor experienced on the same spot a similar calamity, but aggravated greatly by this additional dis-

tressing circumstance, the loss of two female children about seven and eight years old, burnt to death.

Feb. 2, 1798. The theatre in Federal street, Boston, the first play house ever erected in this town, was this day destroyed by fire. It was first discovered in one of the dressing rooms about four o'clock, P. M. No exertions used could check the violence of the flames, and before seven o'clock, there was nothing left standing but the bare brick walls. As it stood alone, no other house adjoining it, no other was burnt. The property lost must be great to the proprietors.

Feb. 5, 1798. The brig Aurora, lying in Salem harbour, the property of Mr. Wm. Gray, being partly loaded on an outward bound voyage, was seen to be on fire, and alarmed the inhabitants of the town. By their exertions with a suction engine carried under the stern, and pouring into her cabin where the fire first began, a deluge of water, she was saved from destruction. The man who had the care of the vessel that night the fire caught, and whose candle probably set her on fire, perished in the flames. The brig suffered a comparative small damage.

Feb. 6, 1798. By way of Kennebeck we hear, that the dwelling house of Mr. Joseph March of Wales plantation, adjoining the town of Monmouth, was consumed by fire, with all its furniture, and what greatly enhances the disaster, is the loss of three children, who perished in the fire.

Feb. 7, 1798. On this night the dwelling house of Doctor Ivory Hovey, at Berwick, was wholly destroyed by fire, with most of the elegant furniture and wearing apparel, some valuable papers, 500 dollars in specie, the barns and other out houses were also burnt; the Doctor was absent, and his wife and three daughters with difficulty escaped at midnight. The want of caution in one of their domestics, in putting away ashes in a small building adjoining the kitchen, is said to have occasioned this conflagration.

Feb. 14, 1798. Tyngsboro', last Saturday morning, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the school house in the town, erected upon the plan of Mrs. Winslow's donation, caught on fire, and with a number of books and quantity of paper was reduced to ashes.

May 4, 1798. In the upper parish of Roxbury about 6 o'clock in the evening, Major Whiting's tavern caught on fire and was entirely consumed; supposed to have happened by the carelessness of a black man servant in the family.

Nov. 12, 1798. Monday, a fire broke out in a house in the main street of Roxbury, which destroyed it totally, and a shop.

Feb. 26, 1799. Some nights since the house of Mr. Hathaway, in Barnstable, was consumed by fire, and his eldest son burnt to death; his second son so much burnt as to expire soon after his father had snatched him from the flames. The father it is melancholy to add, is deprived of his sight by his exertions to save his children.

March, 1799. The seat of Christopher Gore, Esquire, in Watertown, was burnt excepting the western wing; the fire began in the green house.

April 21, 1799. A school house in New Bedford was burnt about this time.

☞ *I am uncertain as to the date of the following article, I believe it happened in the year 1799, but know not the day, nor the month.

1799. In the evening the dwelling house of Mr. Phinchas Jones of Milford, in Massachusetts, caught on fire, in which four persons lost their lives; two of them at the age of 20, one at 18, another was Mr. Jones's only son, in his seventh year. This truly melancholy event is supposed to have happened by ashes put into a room under a work shop, where the unfortunate sufferers were in a chamber; the rest of the family being below stairs escaped unhurt.

May 11, 1799. A fire in Newbury street, Boston, began at Mr. Merchel's, further, which destroyed eleven dwelling houses, and a number of out houses. The loss reckoned at [illegible] dollars.

June, 1799. At Leominster, a dwelling house of Mr. Hopestill Leland was burnt.

Aug. 2, 1799. A barn of Mr. Micajah Newell at Lynn, was set on fire by lightning and consumed with its contents, and an ox almost instantly killed.

Sept. 4, 1799. Early this morning a fire broke out in a blacksmith's shop in Plymouth, and destroyed it. The flames were violent, and threatened the destruction of the whole town, but was mercifully preserved.

Dec. 9, 1799. It is reported that a barn in Chelmsford, belonging to Mr. Chamberlain, was consumed with 14 head of cattle, 12 Sheep, and one horse, said to be the effects of a villain's malice.

Dec. 15, 1799. Sunday morning a fire broke out in a house in Cornhill street, near the Old South meeting house, occupied by Mr. Von Hagen, a musician. It was first discovered in the upper part of the house, where it had got to a considerable height; but the dexterity of the inhabitants prevented the expected destruction.

Feb. 11, 1800. Mr. Jonathan Baich, block maker's shop near the Draw-bridge, on Newell's wharf, Boston, took fire in the night, which in a short time burnt it to the ground.

Feb. 26, 1800. An unfinished house on the west side of Boston common caught on fire about noon, but was soon extinguished.

March, 1800. Fire in a painter's shop near Hallowell's ship yard, Boston. The inflammable contents threatened much damage; but providentially not much was sustained.

June 12, 1800. A barn at Lynn was struck with lightning and set on fire.

June 19, 1800. A fire in Battery-march-street happened in a still house, but was put out without doing much injury.

Oct. 24, 1800. A foundery shop, adjoining Cutler and Duick's shop of goods on Boston neck, caught on fire, and occasioned some loss.

The foregoing account of fires, contains a melancholly record not only of the loss of property, but of many lives, numbers of whom were children burnt in their beds, and deprived of life by this destructive element, which, though a good servant, is a bad master.

I am in doubt whether the dates of the fires contained in the list of them which are marked with a * is correct, but this may be ascertained by consulting the newspapers. As I have not all the newspapers in my possession, I am prevented from doing it. I do not offer this list of the fires that have happened in Massachusetts as a correct account

of *all* that have taken place in the Commonwealth, during the eighteenth century: they are an addition to what has been already published in my description of Boston in the third volume of the Collections of the Historical Society, as before noted; and both accounts, though they may not contain *all*, I believe them to be a record of the most remarkable that have happened within the period mentioned.

Besides the fires recorded in the year 1797, there have been several attempts by incendiaries to destroy other houses in Boston, by fire. The following are noticed by the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop, in the appendix to his discourse at the Thursday lecture, March, 1797.

Feb. 22, 1797. Mr. Marriot's house, Winter-street.—Mr. Holmes, Union-street.

March 16, 1797. Mr. Goldsbery, Fish-street. A fire was kindled by a robber in a part of the house, which communicated with a chamber: the smoke awoke the family, and prevented the intended mischief.

Mr. Beals' house, Middle-street.

In none of the above instances did the designs of the villains take effect, through the interposing hand of providence. For several weeks the newspapers contained accounts of houses being purposely set on fire.

LETTER FROM ALDEN BRADFORD, ESQ. TO REV. DR. ELIOT, RESPECTING MOUNDS, &c.

Boston, January 30, 1813.

SIR,

In the fourth volume of the Collections of the Historical Society, there is a letter from Rev. Jacob Bailey, formerly of Dresden on Kennebec river, in which he makes some conjectures respecting the origin of mounds and eminences discovered in various parts of North America. These, without sufficient reasons, in my opinion, he considers to be artificial. For, upon thorough examination, they will generally be found to be natural; such as they have ever been from the formation of the earth, or as have been produced by the overflowing of rivers. His supposi-

tion is, that these mounds were erected for fortifications places of religious worship; and he concludes, that the p lution of the country in distant periods must have been mense.

One would be justified in doubting whether the abo inals of America ever had any knowledge of fortificatic But this consideration apart, it is not in any degree prc ble, that all these eminences are the effect of human des and labour.* Mr. Bailey mentions "a hill which rise the midst of an extensive plain on the western bank of K nebec river, about thirty five miles from the mouth;" supposes it to be artificial. This spot, I visited some y ago, after having seen Mr. Bailey's description of it. it was impossible, for a moment, to believe it to be ot than a natural eminence. It is from fifty to sixty fee height, and its base covers two thirds of an acre of grou Its surface does indeed exhibit much regularity, and ascent is gradual, making an angle of about thirty seven forty degrees with the horizon. One side however is m steep than the others, and there is nothing remarkable in form to induce one to believe it the work of art, unl he were predisposed by some favorite theory to suppos On the banks of the river, both above and below this pl there are other eminences equally regular in their form, some of such magnitude, that no man in the exercise of sober judgment would admit the idea of their being artific

With great esteem,

A. Bradford.

Rev. Dr. Eliot.

* I give no opinion respecting those which are found on the Ohio and Missis

istorical sketch of the progress of Medical Science, in : Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being the substance a discourse read at the annual meeting of the Medical ciety, June 6, 1810. *with alterations and additions to uary* 1, 1813. *By Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D.*

.on a consideration of the early attention of our ven- : ancestors to the promotion of literature; the estab- ent of Harvard* College in 1638; and the various ds and traditions of that enterprising period, it is not to explain our ignorance of the earliest physicians. re may safely remark, that indigence is unfavourable :urate investigation; that a wilderness is not adapted : improvement of a conjectural art; and that profes- eminence is the result of experience.

e general state of medicine at that time was limited ypothetical, for the circulation of the blood by Har- nd the course of aliment to nutrition by Pecquet and is were but just discovered; a careful observance of ture, symptoms and cure of diseases by Sydenham arcely commenced, and the medical establishments, are now celebrated, were unknown. But a regular ourse with the parent country, occasional immigrations European schools, and a progressive introduction of ved authors, afforded our predecessors the best means ruction their situation would admit of; and by their ity we are favoured with a regular succession of tal- nd acquirements, which have kept pace with the cul- n of science, and the refinements of polished society.

: first medical publication in this state, was a paper 7, entitled, A brief guide in the small pox and mea- y Thomas Thatcher, a clergyman and physician, spoken of as the best scholar of his time. He died 8, aged 58.

re is a letter, on the files of the Historical Society, a good management, under the distemper of the s, without a date, or the author's name; it was ly written as early as the preceding; but whatever s merits, it can be viewed in no other light, than as ient curiosity.

* John Harvard died at Charlestown, 1638

The introduction of variolous inoculation in Boston, by the influence and patronage of Cotton Mather, a celebrated divine, was a subject of much speculation; whilst the discourses and opinions of the clergy applauded or condemned it in a moral or religious view,* the controversies of the physicians were not more distinguished for candour and fair argument, than by a spirit of rivalship and ill nature. Many newspaper publications were anonymous;† but an open opposer was Lawrence Dalhound, a Frenchman, who had seen cases in Italy, Flanders, and Spain, and was supported by William Douglass and Joseph Marrion.‡

Zabdiel Boylston, of whom we may boast as the earliest inoculator for small pox in the British dominions, studied with John Cutler, an eminent practitioner. His experiments commenced on his son in 1720, and in a year he extended the disease to 247 persons, of whom but six died. During this period 39 others were successfully attended by Roby and Thompson, in Cambridge and Roxbury. Resisting with intrepidity and perseverance the influence of superstition, and the exertions of interested assailants, Boylston conquered the strongest prejudices, and lived to witness the extensive effect of his philanthropy. He published in 1721, from the philosophical transactions in Great Britain, an account of inoculation, by Timonius of Constantinople, and Pylarinus, a Venetian consul in Smyrna. He visited London in 1725, received flattering attentions from distinguished characters, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1726 he published an historical account of inoculated small pox in New England. His subsequent communications and correspondence are sufficient evidence of his literary qualifications. He was born at Brookline in 1684, and died at his patrimonial estate in 1766, aged 83.

* The clergy of Massachusetts were defenders of inoculation, and the subjects of much abuse by its opposers. See observations, by Benjamin Colman, 1721. Also a vindication of the ministers of Boston, by some of their people, 1722.

A sermon, against the dangerous and sinful practice of inoculation, preached in London, in July, 1722, by Edmund Massey, was reprinted in Boston. The conduct of some of the medical faculty, who exerted their whole force to annihilate it, was violent and outrageous.

† See New England Courant, 1721—'22. This paper was rendered famous, by the juvenile essays of Benj. Franklin, who died 1790, aged 85.

‡ See appendix to Boylston, p. 62.

William Douglass a native of Scotland, and a skilful physician, but a man of strong prejudices, accustomed to estimate the merits of others by his personal friendship for them, arrived at Boston in 1720, and died in 1752, aged 57. He was the author of essays respecting the small pox in 1722 and 1730; also of several historical and political performances. In 1736 he published a treatise on an eruptive miliary fever with angina ulcusculosa,* which has been mentioned with approbation, and quoted in subsequent dissertations on cynanche maligna.

A pamphlet was published in 1742, on the method of practice in the small pox in 1730, by Nathaniel Williams, a pupil of James Oliver, a learned physician, taught by Ludowick, a German, the most celebrated chemist that had ever been in America.† Williams was in extensive practice thirty-seven years, and is represented as an able instructer of youth, a useful preacher, and most valuable citizen. He died in 1737, aged 63.

We are told that the art of healing was originally reduced to order by the officers of the church, and that many of our earliest divines, in imitation of the ancient priests of Egypt, Greece and Rome, were practitioners in medicine, by which they were enabled more effectually to promote their spiritual avocations;‡ among these was Leonard Hoar, who went to England in 1653, took the degree of doctor in medicine, and afterward preached at Wenstead. He returned to this country in 1662, was elected president of the university, and sustained that office about three years. He died in 1665, aged 45.

There is a tract on pharmacy, written in 1732, by Thomas Harward, a clergyman, and there are various statements in periodical publications, and disputes in newspapers, of little consequence at this period, which, with those recited, are all the medical writings in Massachusetts we are able to discover in more than a century and a half.

* This disease commenced in Kingston, in 1735. The number of deaths in the country averaged one in four cases, and in Boston but one in thirty-five. See Douglass, p. 3.

† See preface to Williams, by Thos. Prince.

‡ See Magnalia, by C. Mather, book iii. p. 131.

Though the works of Hippocrates, Galen, Stahl, and others, were not unknown, those of Sydenham and his followers, were principally studied by our oldest practitioners, till the time of Boerhaave, whose invaluable labours commenced in 1701, which, with the commentaries of Van Swieten, the practical writings of Whytt, Mead, Brooks, and Huxham; the physiology of Haller; the anatomy of Cowper, Keil, Douglass, Cheselden, Munroe, and Winslow; the surgery of Heister, Sharp, Le Dran, and Pott; the midwifery of Smellie and Hunter; and the materia medica of Lewis, were in general use at our political separation from the British empire.*

Our earliest evidence of a medical establishment, is an hospital at Rainsford island in the harbour of Boston, belonging to the commonwealth, which, for upwards of an hundred years, has been appropriated to the reception of mariners and others with contagious sickness. It is now under the direction of the board of health, and is principally occupied in the summer months, when vessels are subject to quarantine.

Inoculating hospitals, which are said to have been the first in the state, were opened in the vicinity of Boston in 1764, at Point Shirley, by William Barnet from New Jersey, and at Castle William, by Samuel Geltson from Nantucket; at these Sylvester Gardner, Nathaniel Perkins, Miles Whitworth, James Lloyd, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, and Joseph Gardner attended.† A few years afterward, they were succeeded by one in the neighbourhood of Marblehead, under the direction of Hall Jackson, from Portsmouth.

The appearance of small pox in Cambridge, in 1775, rendered accommodations necessary, to prevent its extension; and Isaac Rand, a respected practitioner of Charlestown, who studied with Thomas Greaves, and was reputed to have been better acquainted with the disease than any of his cotemporaries, was the physician. He died in 1790, aged 72. In 1776 William Aspinwall and Lemuel Hayward, prepared conveniences at Brookline, the natal

* There were many other valuable medical books in use during this period, but those are named, which are supposed to have been most generally known.

† See Boston Gazette, and Post Boy, 1764.

and the burying place of Boylston, for private inoculation, and attended two classes; Rand and Hayward then associated, and the number inoculated in twelve months, by the above named gentlemen, exceeded two thousand. The reputation and success of this institution led to similar establishments, at different periods, in various places; but an hospital was continued at that town by Aspinwall, till variolous inoculation was superseded.

To enhance the superior advantages of a late discovery, it is stated as the opinion of Dimsdale, a celebrated small pox inoculator, that this mode of communicating it has been more detrimental than beneficial to society; and its ravages in populous cities are adduced to corroborate the remark. If this is a correct opinion from his extensive information, or from the effect of a constant promiscuous inoculation, can it be applied to this section of our country, from the observations and experience of distinguished practitioners? The small pox has never been constantly in Massachusetts, as in most of the other states, and in Europe. It prevailed in Boston in 1676, 1689, 1702, 1721, 1730, 1752, 1764, 1776, and 1792, at which times, it has commonly extended either generally or partially to towns in the vicinity. It appears, that by natural small pox, one in six has died, and by inoculation, but one in two hundred.*

The first information of physicians, in an associated capacity, is in the preface to Douglass, which is addressed to a medical society in Boston; but there are no particulars respecting it. A gentleman lately deceased,† whose memory included a retrospect of sixty years, and who knew the author, had no recollection of its existence. It was probably temporary, for conference and consultation on a distressing epidemic‡ which prevailed at that time.

An association of under graduates, denominated the anatomical society, existed at the university in 1771, and was instituted previous to that time. They held private meetings for a discussion of medical and physiological ques-

* See Historical Collections. Waterhouse on Kine Pox, 1810. p. 4. 27. Miller's Retrospect, vol. I. p. 287.

† James Lloyd.

‡ Cynanche Maligna.

tions, and were in possession of a skeleton; but their monstrations were confined to the dissection of appropri animals, as the examination of a human body was then extraordinary occurrence with our most inquisitive ana mists.

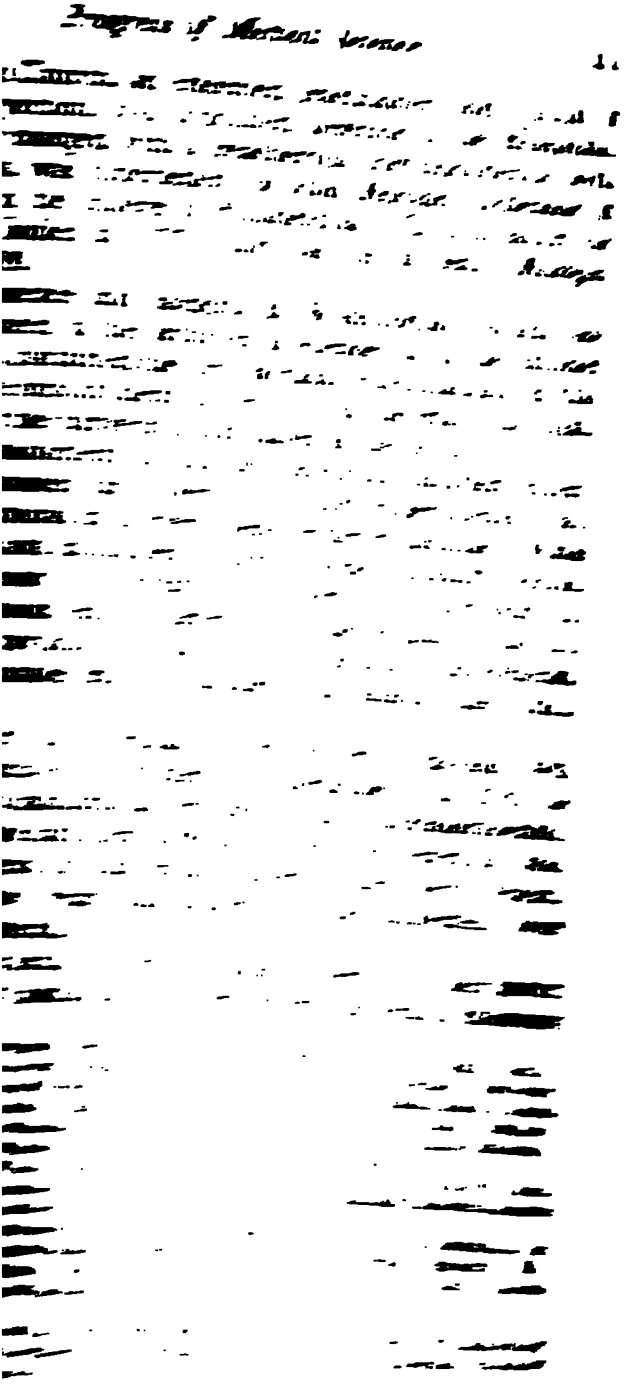
In 1774 attempts were made by a combination of m ical students to obtain a more accurate knowledge of an omy, than could be afforded by books and engravin but their progress was greatly retarded, by the danger discovery, which, at that period, might have been fata their future usefulness.

There have been several instances of candidates for p tice, resorting to the European schools to complete t medical education, which was doubtless a publick be Seventeen of the sons of Harvard have received profes al degrees in the universities of foreign countries, and at Philadelphia.

Obstetrick attendance, except in the most difficul ses, was seldom by male practitioners, till within th sixty years; but this part of the profession is now p pally conducted by physicians. James Lloyd, a pu William Clark, an eminent physician of this metr attended the instructions and saw the practice of W Sharp, Smellie, and Hunter of London, in 1753. turned the following year, and has the credit of in cing the practice of amputation with the double in and of being the earliest systematic practitioner i wifery in this section of the United States. He 1810, aged 82.

Though some individuals, have been celebrated ticular branches of practice, there are no established tions, as in other countries; the utility of which considered problematical.

The American revolution opened a new field ical investigation, and the formation of an army, the faculty from every part of the country, promo cial intercourse. Joseph Warren, a most co character at that eventful period, was proposed as general; but preferring a more active, hazardou ment, he accepted a major general's commission slain on the heights of Charlestown, June 17, 1775



is the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, incorporated in 1780. Of the original number of this learned association ten were of the medical faculty, and a proper proportion has successively been added. Their charter, among other provisions for an advancement of science and the useful arts, expressly requires the promotion and encouragement of medical discoveries; and the communications in their memoirs* evince, that this branch of useful knowledge has not escaped their attention and patronage.

The Massachusetts Medical Society was established in 1781, with power to elect officers, examine and licence candidates for practice, hold estate, and perpetuate its existence as a body corporate forever. This auspicious event, which was effected by an application to the legislature of thirty one distinguished physicians, from various parts of the state, may be considered as the most interesting era in our history. Though a systematic mode of instruction had begun to dawn, and a liberal spirit of enquiry was gradually advancing, the peculiar benefits of regular meetings for personal improvement, and a diffusion of medical knowledge, must be obvious to cursory observers; whilst the conduct and decisions of the general court corroborate the remark, that a termination of civil commotion, is favourable to science and the arts.

In June 1782, after several preparatory meetings, by-laws were enacted, a common seal† was adopted, and the society organized. The officers were a president,‡ vice president, seven counsellors, five censors, corresponding and recording secretaries, a treasurer, librarian and cabinet keeper. The fellows were enjoined to communicate important cases, and the faculty at large invited to a familiar correspondence; circular letters were sent to similar societies in our own, and in foreign countries, which were re-

* Published 1785. 1790. 1804. 1809.

† A figure of Esculapius in his proper habit, pointing to a wounded hart, nipping the herb proper for his cure. Motto "natura duce."

‡ The first President was Edward A. Holyoke, and his successors were William Kneeland in 1784, Edward A. Holyoke in 1786, Cotton Tufts in 1787, Samuel Danforth in 1795 Isaac Rand in 1798, and John Warren in 1804. The *vice Presidents*: James Pecker in 1782, Cotton Tufts in 1785, Isaac Rand, sen. in 1787, Samuel Danforth in 1790, Samuel Holten in 1795, Isaac Rand in 1797, Ebenezer Hunt in 1798, John Warren, in 1800, and Joshua Fisher in 1804.

spectfully reciprocated. By judicious elections, the society was gradually increased, and its utility extended.

In 1785, corresponding and advising committees were appointed for the different counties; in several of which* associations were formed, for professional conversation, reading dissertations, and communicating useful cases, which were afterward transmitted to the committees.

In 1789, the society was authorized to point out and describe such a mode of medical instruction, as might be deemed requisite for candidates, previous to examination.† It was then determined that every pupil should have a competent knowledge of Greek, Latin, the principles of geometry, and experimental philosophy; and that the period of instruction should in no case be less than three years, with attendance on the practice of a respectable physician. And by a subsequent by-law, no candidate can be admitted to an examination after June 4, 1813, unless he has studied with and attended the practice of a fellow, or honorary member of the society. Publications are made triennially of authors to be studied, by which the most valuable modern productions are extensively circulated.‡ The censors meet for examining and licensing candidates once in four months. The first licentiate was admitted in 1782, since which one hundred and thirteen others§ have received letters testimonial of their qualifications to practice.

By an act of the legislature in 1803, the state of the society was essentially changed.‖ The number of fellows, originally limited to seventy, may embrace all respectable practitioners in physic and surgery, resident in the state, who, in the election of counsellors, can vote by proxy. Since the establishment of the society in 1781, forty eight have died, twelve have retired, and six have removed out of the state. The present number is two hundred and

* Middlesex, Worcester, Bristol, and Kennebeck.

† See act of the G. Court, Feb. 10.

‡ A list of the Books, at present required and recommended, is published in the New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery, Vol. I. p 210.

§ The names of the *Licentiates in Medicine*, are officially published, in the newspapers, in June annually, they would have been inserted here, but for the want of room.

‖ March 8. See Act.

eighty two, exclusive of twenty two honorary members. An annual meeting is holden in June, to receive a report of the counsellors for the preceding year; revise and amend the by-laws; elect counsellors; read and consider communications; attend to a discourse, which must be placed on the files of the society; and transact any other business conducive to the welfare of the institution, or the interests of medical science.

The number of counsellors, whose former duty was only to prepare business for the society, is greatly increased. In 1812 seventy two were elected, who are apportioned in the different counties according to their population. They supersede the county committees, and their authority extends to elect fellows, and honorary members; appoint the officers of the corporation; receive, examine, and answer letters and communications; establish subordinate societies, with censors, if they think proper; and perform other services, as required by the by-laws. They meet three times in a year, and submit their records and proceedings to the society at the annual meeting. District societies report to the counsellors all cases of importance, and are subject to the regulations of the society.*

In 1790, the first number of medical papers, containing a selection of important communications, was published; but for the want of funds,† a second did not appear till 1806. A third was printed in 1808, completing the first volume; which, with a fourth number, in 1809, and a fifth in 1810, being part of the second volume, have been largely distributed, and contain a useful variety of theoretical and practical observations. There are materials for further publication, which will probably appear in the course of a year.

* The officers of the society elected in 1812, are John Warren, *President*, Joshua Fisher, *Vice President*, David Townsend, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter, Josiah Bartlett, and William Spooner, *Censors*. Thomas Welsh, *Corresponding Secretary*, John C. Warren, *Recording Secretary*, John G. Coffin, *Treasurer*, John Fleet, *Librarian*.

The district societies are in Boston, comprehending Brookline, Cambridge, Charlestown, Dorchester, Malden, Medford, and Roxbury. Also in the counties of Essex, Worcester, Berkshire, Lincoln, and Cumberland. The Worcester district has censors, viz. Oliver Fiske, Jona. Osgood, Thomas Babbit, Abraham Haskell, and Austin Flint.

† The expences of the society are defrayed by an annual tax on the fellows, and by a moderate assessment on licentiates.

A Pharmacopæia of the society, prepared by James Jackson and John Collins Warren, was published in 1808. The plan of the Edinburgh college was pursued in this valuable work, which, being designed to introduce the modern nomenclature, establish uniformity in the preparation of medicines, and in the prescriptions of physicians, was readily adopted, and is in general use. The American New Dispensatory, published by James Thacher, in 1810, was submitted to a committee of the society, in whose report it is represented as a judicious performance.

The discourses* are by Isaac Rand, in 1804, on phthisis pulmonalis, and the warm bath—John Warren, in 1805, on the use and effect of mercury—Joshua Fisher, in 1806, on narcotic substances—Thomas Welsh, in 1807, on heat and cold, as agents on the human body—John Brooks, in 1808, on pulmonic inflammation—and Aaron Dexter, in 1809, on diseases of the joints—Josiah Bartlett, in 1810, on the progress of medical science in Massachusetts—Oliver Fiske, in 1811, on certain epidemics which prevailed in the western parts of the state, and Abraham Haskell, in 1812, on Cynanche Trachealis.

At the annual meeting of the society, in 1809, a committee was appointed to devise means for the establishment or promotion of a medical school in the metropolis. They reported that it was expedient to encourage the removal of the medical lectures from Cambridge, as more favourable for instruction. In 1811, the society resolved to appropriate the land granted by the legislature to the erection of a building for medical uses, in the town of Boston; and if an adequate sum could be raised, to make arrangements for the accommodation of the medical institution of the university.

At the meetings of the counsellors in 1810, committees were appointed, to make enquiry relating to a spotted fever so called, then prevailing in the county of Worcester; and circular letters were sent to the physicians in that quarter, whose reports to the society, and publications in the gazettes, with the observations and minute dissections in this

* Those by Rand, Fisher, and Bartlett, are published. It is determined to publish the others (in the order they were delivered) in the communications of the society.

town, and its vicinity, have furnished an accurate history,* and the modes of treatment, in this formidable disease.

The publick estimation of the medical society is sufficiently manifested in the constant patronage of government, who, in February, 1810, granted a township of land to extend its usefulness.

The important medical school at Harvard University, hastened in its progress by the salutary effects of the anatomical lectures at Boston, was founded on a generous bequest, in 1770, by Ezekiel Hersey, whose laudable example was imitated by his widow, and also by Abner Hersey, John Cummings, William Erving, and Esther Sprague, widow of John Sprague, who died in 1797, aged 78. The sum bequeathed by these persons, (five of whom were physicians or their relicts) was 15,333 dollars. Ezekiel Hersey died in 1770, aged 60. Abner Hersey in 1786, aged 68. Cummings in 1788, aged 61. And Erving, (who was an officer in the British army) in 1791, aged 56.

The institution provides a regular system of instruction, with demonstrations and experiments. The use of the college library is allowed to medical students; who, having read two years with a reputable practitioner, and attended two courses of lectures in the respective branches, might, at the expiration of another year, by passing a publick examination, and delivering and defending a dissertation, receive the degree of bachelor in medicine. But such as have not enjoyed a college education, must evince an acquaintance with Latin, experimental philosophy, and mathematics. Bachelors of seven years standing, who had been that time in practice, might receive a doctor's degree, after a publick examination by the professors; but they were required to deliver and defend a Latin and an English dissertation on medical subjects.

In 1783, John Warren was installed professor of anatomy and surgery; Benjamin Waterhouse, of the theory and practice of physic; and Aaron Dexter, of chemistry and materia medica. In 1809, John Collins Warren and John Gorham were respectively inaugurated adjunct professors of anatomy and chemistry. In 1810, a professor-

* See Worcester and Boston papers, March, April, May, 1810, and Medical Communications, Vol. II. p. 111.

ship of clinical medicine was established, and James Jackson was installed professor.

This system was pursued till 1810, during which period forty seven received the degree of bachelor, and five the degree of doctor in medicine.* The dissertations which have been published on these occasions, are by Peter de Sales la Terriere, in 1789, on the puerperal fever; William Pearson, in 1789, on mixed fever; William Dix, in 1795, on dropsy; Frederick May, in 1795, on the lock jaw; John Fleet, in 1795, on surgical operations; Samuel Brown, in 1797, on the malignant bilious fever; William Ingalls, in 1801, on the bursal abscess; and James Jackson, in 1809, on the Brunonian system.

The lectures which had been given at Cambridge were, by the government of the College, directed to be read in Boston, where spacious and convenient apartments are provided for the respective professors; but an annual course is still given at the university. The medical pupils, who have greatly increased, are allowed the privilege of seeing practice at the alms house, and in private families.

In 1811, the arrangement was altered to correspond with other medical establishments in the United States. The degree of doctor in medicine was conferred on all who had received the degree of bachelor, and is to be given to future graduates. In 1812, James Jackson, who still officiates as clinical professor, was installed professor of the theory and practice of physic, in the room of Benjamin Waterhouse, whose connection with the university was dissolved. By an arrangement of the professors, lectures on midwifery, with demonstrations, are given, by Walter Channing, to the members of the medical school.

The anatomical museum, which contains a very valuable collection of natural preparations, is enriched by the liberality of John Nickols, a counsellor at law in England, whose father is numbered with the celebrated anatomists that introduced the art of injection; also of Elias H. Derby of Salem, with curious imitations in wax, prepared at Palermo in Sicily, by a physician to the Court of Naples. The chemical apparatus is extensive, and fully competent to the purposes of instruction and amusement.

* See College Catalogue. The names would have been mentioned, if there was room to insert them, in the space allotted to this sketch.

The lectures commence on the first Wednesday in November annually. Medical honors are conferred at the publick commencements, and in addition to those already noticed, thirty have received the honorary degree of doctor in medicine.*

A course of lectures on natural history, occasionally interspersed with remarks on mineralogy, has been delivered annually, from 1788, by Benjamin Waterhouse, at which the students in medicine were permitted to attend. In 1806, William D. Peck was inducted as professor in that department; and the establishment of a botanic garden at Cambridge, will, by a cultivation of foreign and indigenous articles, enrich the materia medica, and improve pharmacy.†

In 1810, a valuable collection of medical and anatomical works and engravings were presented to the university by Ward Nicholas Boylston, with permanent arrangements for its enlargement. The number of books at this time exceeds four hundred, the use of which is extended to the fellows of the Medical Society, residing within ten miles of Cambridge, and to the pupils of the medical school at Boston. He also in 1803 established‡ an annual complimentary premium to the authors of the best performances, on such medical, anatomical, physiological, or chemical subjects, as are proposed by a committee,§ appointed by the president and the fellows of the university. The approved dissertations‖ are, on cholera infantum, and on

* John Sprague, Edward A. Holyoke, James Lloyd, Cotton Tufts, Oliver Prescott, Ammi R. Cutter, Joshua Brackett, Charles Stockbridge, Micajah Sawyer, Hall Jackson, Samuel Danforth, William Baylies, John Haygarth, Isaac Rand, Marshal Spring, William Aspinwall, Samuel Savage, Joshua Fisher, Lemuel Hayward, John Warren, Benjamin Waterhouse, Aaron Dexter, Isaac Senter, Benjamin Mason, Josiah Bartlett, John Brooks, James Thacher, Thomas Welsh, Thomas Kitteridge, Timothy Childs.

† A subscription of $30,000 was made, and two townships of eastern land were granted, for the purchase of land, and other expenses of this establishment. It is under the inspection of the professor of natural history, and a board of trustees, of whom the president of the Medical Society is ex officio a member.

‡ See bond to the college, Jan. 20, 1803.

§ The committee are Lemuel Hayward, John Warren, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter, John Brooks, Josiah Bartlett, William Spooner, John Fleet, and James Jackson. The persons who have served are, Edward A. Holyoke, James Lloyd, Cotton Tufts, Samuel Danforth, Isaac Rand, Joshua Fisher, Benjamin Waterhouse, and William Eustis.

‖ The dissertations on cholera, by Mann; the three by Shattuck, and the one on burns and scalds by Bigelow, are published.

lysentery, by James Mann, for 1804 and 1806—On mortification, on the structure and physiology of the skin, and on biliary concretions, by George Cheyne Shattuck, for 1806 and 1807—On cancer, and the best mode of extripation, by Daniel Newcomb, for 1808, whose premature death is justly lamented—On cynanche maligna, and on phthisis pulmonalis, by Jacob Bigelow, for 1809—On complaints in the breasts of nursing women, by Thomas Sewall for 1809—On the treatment of burns and scalds, by Jacob Bigelow, for 1810,—On hydrocephalus internus, by George Howard, for 1811—On leeches, by John F. Waterhouse, and on epilepsy, by William J. Walker, for 1812: for each of which, premiums were adjudged, agreeable to the design of the founder, which is well adapted to inspire a laudable emulation, and improve the medical profession. The premiums are adjudged without a knowledge of the author. Every dissertation has a device or motto, with a corresponding sealed letter, containing the author's name; and those only are opened, which are successful.

At the commencement of the medical institution, a question arose, respecting its interference with the charter rights of the Medical Society. On one side it was supposed, that positive legal power to examine and license candidates for practice, implied an exclusive right; on the other, that the acknowledged privileges and usages of universities were sufficient authority to qualify students, and confer professional degrees. Repeated conferences were held by committees of the society, with the corporation and professors of the college, which terminated satisfactorily. A diploma from the university, or letters testimonial from the society, are alike considered as entitling practitioners of three years standing to fellowship; and all graduates, or licentiates, in medicine, may claim* the use of the society's library.

There were published, in 1786, the first part of a synopsis of a course of lectures on the theory and practice of medicine; in 1792, a discourse on the rise, progress and present state of medicine; in 1804, a lecture on the evil tendency of tobacco, and the pernicious effects of ardent and vinous spirits on young persons, by Benjamin Waterhouse; in 1803, a pamphlet on the use of the vitriolic acid, in ulce-

* See act of the General Court, March 8, 1803.

rated sore throat, by Thomas Bulfinch, who died in 1804, aged 73, and in 1799, a volume on the plague and yellow fever, by James Tytler, a native of Scotland, who is spoken of as a man of extensive erudition, but imprudent. He immigrated to this country in 1796, resided in obscurity at Salem, and was drowned in 1804, aged 59. In 1812, observations on the Hydrophobia and the method of treatment by James Thacher: also a translation of J. N. Corvisart, on the diseases of the heart and large blood vessels, by Jacob Gates.

The New England Journal of medicine and surgery, and the colateral branches of science, conducted by a number of physicians, commenced in January, 1812, and is published quarterly. The first volume was completed in October. The work is well adapted to improve and diffuse medical knowledge.

It has been remarked that more professional knowledge is at this time attainable in a single season, than was known to Hippocrates, Galen, and their successors, till the beginning of the eighteenth century. A case of fistula in ano, now considered as a simple disease, and often cured by our youngest practitioners, was, in 1686, nearly 70 years after the settlement of Massachusetts, so formidable and dangerous, that Felix, a surgeon, and Fagon, a consulting physician, were rewarded with forty thousand dollars, for a successful operation on Lewis the fourteenth of France, in consequence of which a national thanksgiving was religiously observed.*

At this period also, the royal touch was considered as the only cure in scrofula. In May, 1682, notice was given in a London gazette, that as the weather was growing warm, his majesty would not touch any more for the king's evil, till after Michaelmas; and in 1687, an indigent citizen of New Hampshire, having tried every other means without effect, petitioned the Legislature for aid to transport him to England, for that efficacious remedy.†

The Massachusetts Humane Society, which had been founded five years, upon the plan of similar associations in

* See Ramsay's Review, 1800. p. 10. 12.

† See Belknap's Hist. Appendix. Vol. 1. p. 81.

Europe,* was incorporated in 1791, for the purposes of restoring suspended animation, preserving human life, and alleviating its miseries. The number of members, which at that time was 189, has increased to 651; of whom many are of the medical faculty, whose professional attendance is rendered gratis, in promoting the immediate views of the institution. It is governed by a president† and board of trustees. Publick discourses, all of which are published, are delivered at the annual meetings of the Society, and the physicians who have officiated on these occasions are, Benjamin Waterhouse, in 1790; John Bartlett, in 1792; John Brooks, in 1795; John Fleet, in 1797; Isaac Hurd, in 1799; John C. Howard, in 1804; and Thomas Danforth, in 1808; these, with the alternate performances of the clergy, are correct specimens of talents and piety.

In 1799, a complimentary premium was offered by the trustees, for the best communication relating to yellow fever in the United States, which, in 1800, was adjudged to Samuel Brown, who died soon after, leaving an honourable testimony‡ of early acquirements and industry.

Discreet and concise directions for the recovery of persons apparently dead, from drowning, strangling, suffocation, electricity, or the use of poisons; judicious rewards to such as have jeoparded their lives for the preservation of others; and furnishing convenient shelters, on our sea coast, for ship-wrecked mariners, have extensively diffused the benefits of this benevolent institution. The Merrimack Humane Society at Newburyport, instituted for the same purposes, was incorporated in 1804.§

The celebrated discovery of vaccination by Edward Jenner, a physician of Berkley, in Great Britain, was transmitted to this state in 1799. His observations were succeeded by the comments of George Pearson, and a series of experiments, by William Woodville, the former a physician of St. George's, and the latter of the small pox hospi-

* The first institution of this kind was at Amsterdam, in 1767.

† The president is John Warren.

‡ See treatise on yellow fever, 1800.

§ The president is Micajah Sawyer.

usual modes of living and exercise; and were all lodged promiscuously in one room.

"At the same time and place, in order to prove the activity of the small pox matter, which had been used, two lads, who had never had either the small pox or cow pock, were inoculated from the same matter. At the usual time, the arms of these two patients exhibited the true appearance of the small pox. A severe eruptive fever ensued, and produced a plenteous crop of small pox pustules, amounting by estimation, to more than five hundred in one, and two hundred in the other.

"When these pustules were at the highest state of infection, the thirteen children before mentioned, were inoculated a second time, with recent matter, taken from the pustules, which said matter was likewise inserted into the arms of the seven other children, who were absent at the first inoculation. They were all exposed, most of them for twenty days, to infection, by being in the same room with the two boys, who had the small pox, so that, if susceptible of this disease, they must inevitably have received it, if not by inoculation, in the natural way.

"Each of the children was examined by the subscribers, who were individually convinced from the inspection of their arms, their perfect state of health, and exemption from every kind of eruption on their bodies, that the cow pock prevented their taking the small pox, and they do therefore consider the result of the experiment as satisfactory evidence, that the cow pock is a complete security against the small pox."

James Lloyd.	Benjamin Waterhouse.
Samuel Danforth.	Josiah Bartlett.
Isaac Rand.	John Fleet, Jun.
John Jeffries.	John C. Howard.
John Warren.	Thomas Danforth.
Thomas Welsh.	

A vaccine institution was formed in 1803, by the junior physicians of Boston, for gratuitous inoculation of the indigent, and was continued whilst patients presented themselves to receive it.

In 1808, a committee was appointed by the counsellors of the Medical Society, to obtain further evidence of this

inease as a preventive of small pox, and report the best ethod of conducting the practice. A copious and interesting statement was made to the Society at the annual eeting, which is published in their communications.* In 1809, the fellows were specially enjoined to discover if he disorder exists in the cows of this country, and several instances are related to establish the fact.

The town of Milton was the first in a corporate capacity to extend the benefits of vaccination to its inhabitants. In 1809, three hundred and thirty-seven persons, of all ages and conditions, more than a fourth of the population, were inoculated in a short period, by Amos Holbrook; twelve of whom were afterward tested with small pox. The proceedings are minutely detailed, by a committee who superintended the business.† About this time fifteen hundred were vaccinated on a similar plan, at New Bedford,‡ under the direction of Benjamin Waterhouse.

At the session of the General Court, in March, 1810, the respective towns in the state were directed to appoint committees, to superintend, and were authorized to raise monies annually, to defray the expenses of vaccination, which, if properly conducted, will essentially conduce to the publick welfare, as many individuals must eventually suffer by the uncertain and injudicious practice of inoculating each other,§ without the judgment of experienced practitioners.

In 1811, a general vaccination was proposed by the physicians of Boston, and gratuitously to such as were recommended by the members of the Board of Health, or the Overseers of the Poor. Great numbers were inoculated. About the same time Benjamin Waterhouse proposed a gratuitous inoculation to all sailors, for which it is said, he was remunerated by William Gray, an eminent merchant.

The Marine Hospital‖ of the United States, established at Charlestown in 1803, was opened at Fort Independence

* Vol. I. Appendix to No. 2. part I.

† See Pamphlet, Nov. 1809.

‡ See New Bedford Mercury, Oct. 1809. This town has 3300 inhabitants.

§ The writer has frequently examined cases of this kind, which he supposed to be spurious.

‖ The marine hospital is 100 feet by 40, two stories high, and a basement; it is accommodated with kitchens, a spacious hall, and nineteen rooms, with a garden spot

in 1799, and is supported by a monthly assessment on s men. Its object is the reception of sick or disabled c cers and sailors, in the service of the publick or of m chants.* This important accommodation is well adap for an observance of the diseases of foreign climates, the casualties to which this valuable class of society peculiarly liable.

The Boston Alms House,† from the nature of its est lishment, and the condition of its inhabitants, may be ju ly considered as combining, with the kind offices of manity to meritorious objects, and exemplary reproo idleness and vice, an improvement of the healing art. medical department is under the direction of the profes of the university, who furnish medicines and attenda without expence to the town. It affords an extensive quaintance with the complaints of venerable age, respec indigence, intemperance, and unguarded seduction; is an important resort for the members of the med school, and other candidates for practice. Clinical lect were delivered at this place in 1809, by James Jack with great advantage to students in medicine.

Proposals were made about four years ago, for the livery of anatomical lectures, at Fryeburg, in the Dis of Maine, by Alexander Ramsay, a native of Scotland, for medical lectures at Plymouth, by James Thacher; we have no information of their success.

Useful lectures on anatomy and surgery, by John Warren, and on chemistry, by John Gorham, were de ered in Boston for about two years before the remov the medical school from Cambridge. Lectures on anat and surgery, from about the same period, have been a ally delivered in Boston, by William Ingalls, who is pointed professor in Brown University, in the stat Rhode Island.

of five acres. The average number of patients is stated at thirty. It is control the collector of the customs, and conducted by an overseer or steward, under t rection of the surgeon, who is David Townsend. His predecessors were Ber Waterhouse in 1808, Charles Jarvis in 1804, and Thomas Welsh in 1799.

* See Act of Congress, July 16, 1798.

† The Boston alms house is a spacious, well constructed edifice, with kitch chapel, and 48 other apartments. It is governed by the overseers of the poo is conducted by a master, with proper assistants. The average number of i tants, for the two past years, is about 350, of whom 130 are state paupers. Th

There is an institution named the Boylston Medical Society, founded in 1810, which consists of young practitioners, and pupils of the medical school. The design is mutual improvement in the profession.

There are many institutions in our sea ports, and other populous towns, evincive of a laudable attention to the cause of benevolence, particularly the Boston Dispensary, incorporated in 1801, and conducted by a board of managers. Physicians are appointed to attend indigent persons at their own houses, who are also supplied with medicines and refreshments at the expence of the corporation.

At the State Prison,* erected in Charlestown in 1805, is an appropriate medical establishment, which affords an acquaintance with the diseases peculiar to such institutions; and the beneficial effect of changes in the human body, from excess and idleness, to temperance and labour.

The bathing houses in Boston, Salem, and elsewhere, are so important in the prevention and cure of diseases, that we may justly recommend their extension; and the advantages of such establishments are ably delineated in the discourse by Isaac Rand in 1804.†

In 1811, a petition was presented to the Legislature for the establishment of a General Hospital; and the following is a report upon that subject:

"THE Committee of both Houses, to whom was referred the petition of James Bowdoin and others, praying for

jects of admission are the meritorious poor, unfortunate females, vagrants (who are kept employed) and maniacs. The usual number of sick and infirm is about 50.

* The Massachusetts state prison is said to be as secure as any in the world. It is 200 feet long, 44 wide, and 38 high, containing 96 cells for convicts, with kitchens, convenient rooms for officers, and guards, a chapel, hospital, store, workships, and bathing place. The yard, in which is a garden, is encompassed with a stone wall, 375 by 200, and 18 feet high, on which the guards are stationed. The institution is under the inspection of the supreme executive of the state, and the Justices of the S. J. Court, who constitute the visitors, and are required by law to make an annual examination, but the immediate charge is with a board of three directors, and a warden. The number of convicts admitted from the opening of the prison in December, 1805, is 544, of whom 250 have been discharged, 70 pardoned 5 escaped, 20 died, 1 shot, and 192 remain, January 1, 1813. No epidemic has prevailed, and the prisoners have enjoyed remarkable health. The physician is Josiah Bartlett.

† Economical bathing places may be prepared at distilleries, by apartments near the worm tubs; from the lower and upper parts of which (the former furnishing cold, and the latter hot water) tubes may lead to the bathing tubs. An accommodation of this kind, prepared by Aaron Putnam, formerly a practitioner in medicine, is at the distillery of Matthew Bridge in Charle-town.

the aid of the government in the establishment of a General Hospital, for the reception of sick and insane persons, have attended that service, and beg leave respectfully to state, for the consideration of the Legislature, the principal objects of the proposed institution, the nature of the aid solicited from the government, and the most prominent advantages, which, in the opinion of your Committee, would accrue to the Commonwealth, from granting the prayer of the petition.

"A number of opulent and charitable citizens of Boston and the vicinity (among whom are the petitioners) having contemplated the advantages which have resulted to other countries, and to some of our sister states, particularly New-York and Pennsylvania, from the establishment of similar institutions, have been long desirous of raising a fund, by private subscription, for this benevolent purpose. They wait only for the countenance and patronage of the Legislature, in laying a foundation for such an establishment, as a signal to commence their operations, and to proceed in the execution of their humane and honourable project.

"It is contemplated by the petitioners, that the proposed Hospital shall be erected in the vicinity of the metropolis, in some healthy and retired situation, on a plat of ground sufficiently extensive to afford air and exercise for patients of every description, and for the erection of all necessary offices, connected with the institution; that the scite of these buildings shall be so remote from the town, as to be exempted from the confusion of a large and populous city; and yet so near as to insure the best medical assistance, and the advantages to be derived to the community from improvement in medical science.

"The Hospital, thus established, is intended to be a receptacle for patients from all parts of the Commonwealth, afflicted with diseases of a peculiar nature, requiring the most skilful treatment, and presenting cases for instruction, in the study and practice of surgery and physic.

"Among the unfortunate objects of this charitable project, particular provision is to be made, for such as the wisdom of Providence may have seen fit to visit with the most terrible of all human maladies—a deprivation of reason.

"For the accommodation of lunatic and insane persons an arrangement is intended, either by the erection of a separate building, or by appropriating different wards in the same building, detached in such a manner as will effectually guard against the injuries resulting from an indiscriminate communion with patients of a different description.

"From the information which your Committee have received, as to the result of experiments in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, as well as from the opinions of professional gentlemen, of the highest reputation and most extensive experience, your Committee are fully convinced a Lunatic Hospital may be conveniently and advantageously connected with one for the reception of other patients. While, therefore, every possible comfort and relief, which the most skilful practice and attentive nursing can afford, is to be extended to a class of patients, comparatively few, and whose long continuance in a Hospital, exclusively devoted to them, would necessarily limit the advantages of such an institution, the circle of charity is to be more widely extended, by embracing all, whose bodily diseases and situation in life, may render them proper subjects of admission to a General Hospital,

"Your Committee think it unnecessary to attempt a precise enumeration of all, who are contemplated by the petitioners to come within the scope of their project. Persons of every age and sex, whether permanent inhabitants of the town, or occasional residents therein, citizens of every part of the Commonwealth, as well as strangers, from other states and countries, those in indigent circumstances, who, while in health, can gain by their labour a subsistence for themselves and families, but, when assailed by disease are deprived of the ordinary comforts of life, and by such privations become the victims of disorders, which would yield to salubrious air, suitable medicine and regimen, accompanied by the united efforts of the physician and the nurse, these are among that wretched portion of the community, for whom it is intended to open a tranquil and comfortable asylum.

"Of the persons thus enumerated, your Committee are assured, by the most respectable authority, that one in

three who annually die, might, by proper accommodations, skilful treatment, and faithful nursing, in all probability, be snatched from the grave, and restored to health and usefulness in society. But it is not to the indigent alone that the advantages of this institution are to be extended. Experience in other states has proved, that persons requiring the best surgical and medical aid, and having the means of defraying the moderate expenses incident to such a situation, will frequently, from choice, resort to a Hospital, as furnishing the most convenient accommodations, and the surest means of restoration to health.

"This brief exposition of the benevolent views of the petitioners, it is confidently hoped, will satisfy an enlightened Legislature, that the project is not the result of a narrow and selfish policy, intended to secure to the inhabitants of the metropolis, local privileges and advantages, at the expense of the Commonwealth.

"When it is considered how great a portion of the population of the town of Boston is composed of mechanicks, journeymen and apprentices, labourers and domestic servants, mere sojourners in the city, with no connexions near at hand ready to pour oil and wine into their wounds, when they are in need of relief, it cannot be doubted, that the plan of a General Hospital, is the offspring of a liberal and expansive benevolence, ranging far beyond the confines of a single town, and seeking for objects of solace and comfort among the whole family of man!

"As to the aid which the petitioners solicit from the Legislature, your Committee are fully satisfied it is by no means beyond the importance of their object and for which the Commonwealth will forever receive, a most ample equivalent, in the publick advantages to be derived from the proposed institution.—They ask for an act of incorporation, to enable them to manage their funds in such a manner, as to ensure the success of their project.—They ask, also, for a grant of the province house, the value of which may be estimated at from thirty to forty thousand dollars. This estate, it is well known, has long been unproductive, and is daily diminishing in value.

"By the terms of the proposed grant, according to the request of the petitioners, it is not to take effect, until the

sum of one hundred thousand dollars, shall have been raised by private subscription or donation. This sum, it is well ascertained, will be furnished by the voluntary contributions of the petitioners, and other opulent individuals, who are zealously engaged in the project, and who are ready to erect the superstructure, whenever the corner stone shall have been laid by the Commonwealth. Although this sum, with the proposed grant, would not be adequate to the perfect accomplishment of the plan, yet no reasonable doubt can exist, that the progressive accumulation of the fund, from the munificence of other individuals, who will be eager to "go and do likewise," will ensure its speedy and effectual execution.

"Among the paupers in the alms-house, in the town of Boston, who are chargeable to the Commonwealth, there are at this time fifty five invalids, who are supported at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents per week, making, in the whole, an expence of four thousand two hundred and ninety dollars per annum. Were the proposed Hospital now in operation, most of these patients would be at once transferred to it, where they would be attended without any charge to the government, and an annual expenditure from the publick treasury would thus be saved, far exceeding the interest of the property proposed to be granted.

"When it is considered how many sick and disabled paupers are supported in other parts of the Commonwealth at the charge of the government, who would be entitled to a place in this general asylum, and how rapidly this expence is increasing, by the constant influx of foreigners, it is believed the most rigid calculation will warrant the inference, that the proposed appropriation would be a gain to the treasury, and an alleviation of the burdens of the people.

"In this view of the subject, the petitioners may be considered, as rather soliciting for an opportunity to give to the publick, than as requesting a grant for mere local advantage, or individual emolument.

"The immense benefits to be derived from a General Hospital, as a school for improvement in surgery and physic, are too obvious to require illustration. It is well understood that for want of such an institution, many

students belonging to Massachusetts, resort annually to New-York or Philadelphia, for the completion of their medical education. The location of the proposed Hospital, is intended to be such as will accommodate students in the metropolis, and at the University in Cambridge, and the skill thus acquired, by the increased means of instruction, will be gradually, and constantly diffused, through every section of the Commonwealth.

"Influenced by these considerations, and deeply impressed with the belief, that the object of the petitioners is highly honourable to themselves, and would conduce to the glory of the Commonwealth; contemplating the permanent nature of the intended institution, and reflecting that it is the duty of enlightened Legislators to provide not only for the present generation, but to be active and vigilant in advancing the happiness of their posterity, your Committee most cheerfully accord with the benevolent wishes of the petitioners, and report that they have leave to bring in a bill conformable to the prayer of their petition; which is respectfully submitted."

The above report was accepted, and an act passed* incorporating the petitioners and others who become members, by the name of the Massachusetts General Hospital, with full power to conduct the same. The governour, lieutenant governour, president of the senate, speaker of the house of representatives, and chaplains of the general court for the time being, are a board of visitors, with authority to inspect the institution, examine, and (when they think proper) annul the by-laws, and to see that the regulations are carried into effect.

In consideration of an obligation on the corporation to support at least thirty state paupers, the province house and its appurtenances were granted, on condition that one hundred thousand dollars were added to the establishment in five years from passing the act.

There have been several meetings of the corporation; officers are elected; a minute code of by-laws were reported by a committee, and are published in a pamphlet; but the institution is not yet in operation.

* February 25, 1811.

In 1811, the following was presented to the Legislature.

"*To the Honourable the Senate, and the Honourable the House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, this petition most respectfully sheweth:—*

"THAT seeing health is a blessing, which sweetens all our enjoyments; and long life that which all men naturally desire, so every thing that tendeth to secure the one or leadeth to the other, is an object worthy the attention of this Legislature.

"And considering, moreover, that of the various methods of obtaining and diffusing medical knowledge, not one is found so effectual and desirable as a friendly and liberal intercourse and honourable associations of its professors; more especially when their end and aim is mutual improvement and the publick good; and experience has proved that two literary and scientific societies produce more than double the advantage of one—

"Influenced by these sentiments, we your petitioners humbly pray the Honourable the Legislature to constitute us, and such as may hereafter associate with us, a body politic and corporate, by the name and title of the Massachusetts College of Physicians; with such powers, privileges and immunities, as other medical associations of the like nature and views enjoy, under the same denomination, in several states of the union.

"And your petitioners shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Thomas Williams.	James Mann.
Samuel Danforth.	Charles Winship.
Marshall Spring.	Abijah Draper.
Nath. Ames.	Joseph Lovell.
William Aspinwall.	Jacob Gates.
John Jeffries.	William Ingalls."

This petition was committed in the House of Representatives, and on the 18th of February, the subject matter was referred to the first session of the next General Court.

At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society in June, 1811, seventy two members being present, the following remonstrance was directed with but one dissenting voice.

"*To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

"THE Massachusetts Medical Society, in consequence of an application to the General Court in February last, for the incorporation of a College of Physicians, beg leave respectfully to represent,

"That the said Massachusetts Medical Society was established in November, 1781, with power to elect officers, examine and licence candidates for practice, hold estate, and perpetuate its existence as a body corporate. In June, 1782, the society was organized agreeably to the provisions of the statute, and the members directed in every way to extend and increase its usefulness. By an additional act of the General Court in February, 1789, authority was given to point out and describe such a mode of medical instruction as might be deemed requisite for candidates previous to examination; which important duty has been constantly attended to, and occasionally revised. By a farther additional act in March, 1803, as the society was thought too limited to answer the purposes of its establishment, its state was so essentially changed, that the number of its fellows originally limited to seventy, may embrace all respectable physicians and surgeons resident in the state; and that district societies may be established in such places as will facilitate medical improvement, and prevent the inconvenience of applying in all cases to the censors in Boston for an examination.

"In consequence of this provision, several district societies are formed, and are in a prosperous condition, cultivating medical science, and qualifying candidates, in various parts of the commonwealth. It has been the constant endeavour of the society, without reference to local or political considerations, to admit the most respectable practitioners in every section of the state, and they are desirous to elect all others of known talents who, by accident or from any other cause, are not admitted.

"The number of candidates licensed for practice by the society is more than eighty, all of whom, as well as all bachelors of medicine in Harvard University, may claim admission as fellows of the society, after three years practice.

"The present number of fellows exceeds two hundred. Publications of important cases communicated to the society; of a Pharmacopæia, which is now in general use; and of Dissertations read at the meetings, have been made, as often as the funds would possibly admit; committees have been appointed to investigate the nature, causes and cure of epidemics, and the result of their inquiries communicated to the publick. The greatest harmony has distinguished their proceedings. No mention was ever made, as has been insinuated, of regulating fees in practice. The sole object of the society has been to promote the design of its institution, and the fellows have been led to believe by the constant patronage and support of the Legislature, as well as the publick voice, that their conduct has been approved.

"It is scarcely necessary to remark, that, from the state of medical science, at the incorporation of the society, its progress, for several years, was slow, and that it was less useful than could have been wished; but by the aid and co-operation of the flourishing medical school at the University, it is at this time in a most prosperous state; and it is the united endeavour of all to promote medical instruction, and discourage unworthy practices.

"It is found on examination that the petition on the files of the General Court, for a College of Physicians, is for similar powers and privileges with this society, on the ground, that "two literary and scientific societies, would produce more than double the advantages of one."—The society presume not to dictate to the Legislature on this important subject; but they beg leave respectfully to offer an opinion, that the establishment of such an institution, can effect no object, not accomplished by existing societies, and would be so far from promoting a laudable and useful emulation, that candidates rejected by one society would resort to the other, with the greatest hopes of success, whatever might be their qualifications for the proper exercise of their profession. Hence would arise disagreements and animosities, which in other parts of the United States (particularly in Philadelphia at a former period, and very recently at New-York) have been injurious to the profession and to the publick. Such animosities were threatened in the infancy of this establishment,

by a supposed interference of Harvard College, with the rights of the society, and would have produced the most unhappy effects, but for the repeal of an exceptionable article in that establishment, and the accommodating conduct of those who at that period were the guardians of science, and the patrons of the healing art.

"From these considerations, and from other circumstances which the Medical Society are prepared to state, they have thought it an incumbent duty to request that the prayer of the said petition should not be granted, and they as in duty bound will ever pray.

In behalf of the Society,

JOHN WARREN, President."

BOSTON, June 5, 1811.

On the 14th of June, the petition and remonstrance were submitted to a committee of both houses, who reported, that the importance of the subject required more time and attention than the Legislature could then bestow, and that the farther consideration should be referred to the next session, which was accepted.

From this time to the meeting of the Legislature the subject of the proposed college was discussed in newspapers, literary societies, and private circles. Pamphlets* were published and circulated among the members of the General Court and others, in which were stated the arguments, for and against the plan. Some of the petitioners, whose zeal in the business was supposed to arise rather from personal than publick considerations, attempted to give it a political bearing, and by that means to succeed; this was displeasing to others, who had been solicited to lend their names,† and who stated in writing, that they had no intention to create excitements, or interfere with existing institutions.

The speech of Governor Gerry, at the commencement of the session, contained the following remarks:

* See a letter to a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Jan. 1, 181 ., printed by John Eliot, jun. An answer to that letter, Jan. 20, printed by True and Rowe. Also a reply to that answer, printed in February; and the Boston newspapers of that period.

† Thomas Williams, Samuel Danforth, Nathaniel Ames, William Aspinwall, and John Jeffries, neither of whom appeared to take any part in the transaction.

"Many institutions in this Commonwealth, which have promised great benefit to the publick, would have met with more success, had similar corporations been established. When only one of any kind is permitted, it too frequently happens, that a majority of individuals composing it, indulge their private views and interests, to the exclusion of men, of the most enlarged, liberal, and informed minds; and thus destroy the reputation and usefulness of the society itself. The multiplication of such institutions, has a tendency, not only to prevent this evil, which is an opiate to genius, but to produce a competition, and to promote in the highest degree the utility of such establishments."

In Feb. 1812, the committee of the legislature met at the senate chamber, which was filled with spectators. James Mann, William Ingalls, Abijah Draper, and Joseph Lovell, attended to support the petition; David Townsend, John Warren, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter, Josiah Bartlett, William Spooner, and Benjamin Shurtleff as a committee from the Medical Society to defend the remonstrance. The petition was also advocated by Benjamin Waterhouse, professor of physic in the university, who, with Leonard Jarvis, Edward Whitaker, Daniel Thurber, and Nathaniel S. Prentiss, had added their names to the subscribers. This occasioned a reply from James Jackson, clinical professor, in behalf of the medical institution at Cambridge, as it was generally understood that a new medical school would be attached to the proposed establishment. The parties were indulged with a long and patient hearing. On the day following, the committee (it was said by a bare majority) reported so far in favour of the petitioners, as that they should have leave to bring in a bill, which was accepted in the senate. The following are the proceedings of the house of representatives.

"The report of a joint committee which had given leave for the introduction of a bill to incorporate a College of Physicians, and which report had been accepted in the senate, was taken up, when the house non-concurred and and refused leave to bring in a bill.

"It was moved to reconsider the vote. This motion, which involved all the merits of the question, was advocated by the mover and others, opposed by many, and was

negatived. For it 195. Against it 211. The debate wa animated, interesting, and lasted three hours. The gentl men of the committee which reported the leave state that in the examinations before them, they found nothin to support nor justify the numerous insinuations and r ports which had been circulated in print and in out-do conversation, tending to implicate and injure the existi Medical Society; but that the Society has stood, and no stands on high ground for usefulness, impartiality, and r spectability. It was clearly demonstrated, though a tempts were made out doors to make it a party questio that the institution asked for, is unnecessary, and that granted would produce great dissentions among the facult and be highly injurious to the community."*

There has been no subject since the business of ino culation for the small pox in 1720, that created so mu misunderstanding and controversy among physicians; b they have happily subsided.

About forty three years have elapsed, since the celebr ted works of Cullen, founded on the hypothesis of Ho man, a cotemporary of Boerhaave, were introduced, a extensively circulated; and though succeeded by the i genious theories of Brown, Darwin, and Rush, they s retain an important rank in our schools of medicine. enumerate the valuable practical productions of others, display the talents and industry successfully exerted wit in that period, in cultivating and improving the vario branches of the profession, would exceed the limits of th sketch. After naming the Bells and Cooper, in anatom physiology, and surgery; Denman and Hamilton, in o stetricks; Priestley and Davy, in chemistry; Aikin a Murray, in materia medica, the reader must be refer to the valuable libraries of the University, the Massach setts Medical Society, the district societies, and the asso ated physicians of Boston.† These, with profession books belonging to the Academy of Arts and Science the Historical Society, instituted in 1791, for the collecti and preservation of useful information, the Boston Ath

* Columbian Centinel, Feb. 1812.

† The physicians of Boston have a code of regulations for their conduct to e other, which is worthy of imitation. See Boston medical police, March, 1808.

ım, established in 1807, an instructive resort for the olar or philosopher, and with the extensive collections distinguished practitioners, in every part of the state, rd an unlimited supply of medical literature, from the st remote antiquity to the present time.

Twenty nine foreign medical works have been reprinted Massachusetts, sixteen of which were either in whole, or connexion with others, by Isaiah Thomas; who re- rks, that the United States afford editions of most of the dical writings that have a currency in this country.

From about the middle of the seventeenth century there many of the medical faculty, in addition to those who named in this history, respectfully mentioned by bio- phical writers,* and in the gazettes† of their respec- : times. With an intention to particularise, a review of tuary notices was attempted; but though the task was arduous for the necessary avocations of the author, and delicate for a just discrimination, he discovered in ev- period the names of eminent physicians and surgeons hly honoured as philosophers, civilians, magistrates, or- s, and warriors, who were ornaments to their country, an example for posterity.

CHARLESTOWN, MIDDLESEX, JAN. 1, 1813.

* See Biographical and Historical Dictionaries, by John Eliot, and by William ; which are of great value to inquirers for the distinguished characters of our try.

† See files of newspapers, at the Hist Society.

[COPIED FROM A MANUSCRIPT FOUND IN THE CA NET OF PRESIDENT STILES. BY A. HOLMES.]

A brief View of the State of religious Liberty in the Col of New York, read before the Reverend General Conv tion of the Delegates from the consociated Churches Connecticut, and the Synod of New York and Phila phia, met at Stanford Sept. the 1st. 1773.

THE colony of New York was discovered in the y 1608, and began to be settled in 1610, under the sta general of the Netherlands, who granted it to their W India Company, and called it New Netherlands. A re lar government being established, it was peopled fr Holland, and was tolerably settled at the time it was c quered by the English in 1664.

The West India Company being in Amsterdam, Dutch missionaries who came out to this country w connected with the classis of that city, and under their c and this gave rise to their claim of ecclesiastical domin over the Dutch ministers and churches of this and neighbouring province of New Jersey, and which they signed but the year before last. It need not be said the Dutch are Calvinists in doctrine, and Presbyterian point of government, worship, and discipline; and th churches in this colony continue so to this day.

At the conquest in 1664, there was a surrender u terms, and the Dutch took care to insert the following sh article in favour of their religious liberty: "The Du here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in div worship and church discipline." Article 8th. This all that is said on the subject of religion in the articles capitulation which were signed August 27th of that ye

On the twelfth of March in the same year this col with all that tract of country, that now constitutes the pr ince of New Jersey, was given by King Charles the sec to his brother James, then duke of York. The duke, mediately after the conquest, published a proclamation the encouragement of the settlement of the country, among other articles are the two following:

"1. In all territories of his royal highness liberty of conscience is allowed, provided such liberty is not converted to licentiousness, or the disturbance of others in the exercise of the Protestant religion.

"2. Every township shall be obliged to pay their minister, according to such agreement as they shall make with him; and no man to refuse his proportion, the minister being elected by the major part of the householders, inhabitants of the town."

Encouraged by these privileges, many respectable French Protestant families came into this province about the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and settled in the city of New York, at New Rochelle, in West Chester county, on Staten Island, and a few at New Paltz in Ulster county. These all adopted and adhered to the doctrines, worship, and discipline of Calvin.

The eastern part of Long Island was settled from New England when this colony was in the hands of the Dutch, and was claimed by Connecticut, as a part of its territory. The whole colony therefore was settled with non-episcopalians, chiefly Presbyterians, except a few Episcopal families in the city of New York, when Colonel Fletcher, the governor for the time being, projected the scheme of a general tax for building churches and supporting Episcopal ministers in the year 1693. This however he could not effect in all the extent he wished for. True he obtained a law that year from an ignorant and pusillanimous assembly by the various arts of chicanery accompanied with threats, entitled "An act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York, county of Richmond, West Chester, and Queen's county." By this act one hundred pounds per annum was to be raised in the city and county of New York for one minister; one hundred pounds in West Chester county to be divided between two ministers, each to have fifty pounds per annum; one hundred and twenty pounds in Queen's county to be divided between two ministers, each to have sixty pounds per annum; and forty pounds in Richmond county for one minister. This money was to be raised by tax laid on all the inhabitants of said city, counties and districts, by the vestrymen and two church wardens, who are merely civil

officers, and to be chosen annually on the second Tuesday of January; and for the due election of these vestrymen and church wardens, all the inhabitants of the said city, counties and districts are to be convened by summons on the above day, issued by the magistrates of each county for this purpose. But this act extended only to four counties instead of the whole province, as governor Fletcher desired, and at first designed; and it is evident the assembly, which was composed almost entirely of non-episcopalians, intended it for the benefit of all Protestant ministers of every denomination, who should be chosen as the act prescribes. For though it directs that the ministers are to be inducted by the governor for the time being, yet it provides that the advowson or presentation shall belong to the above ten vestrymen and two church wardens, who, as you have just heard, are eligible not by the members of the church of England, but by the inhabitants at large, and the only specification of the minister's character to be thus chosen is that of "a good sufficient Protestant minister," without saying whether he shall be Episcopal or Presbyterian. And agreeably hereto, the assembly in 1695 entered a vote on their journals, April the twelfth, in the following words: "That the vestrymen and church wardens have power to call a dissenting Protestant minister, and that he is to be paid and maintained as the act directs." The design of this was to refute a claim made by the few Episcopalians of the city as long ago as that time, that the provision made in said act for the support of the gospel was for the sole benefit of Episcopal clergymen. Matters however have been so managed, owing to the pusillanimity of the people, that the Episcopalians alone have had the benefit of this tax. Those in the city of New York have a title to it by another law obtained by them June the twenty seventh, 1704, transferring the right of advowson, from the civil vestry and church wardens of the county to the vestry of Trinity church; and this same act farther incorporates the rector of said church and inhabitants of the city of New York in communion of the Church of England, vesting them with all the powers of a body known in law, and enabling them to hold an estate to the yearly amount of five hundred pounds currency; but expressly guards

gainst abridging that liberty of conscience granted by the ws of England, or of this province, to any other denomiation of christians.

On the 4th of August, 1705, there was another act pasd, entitled "An act for better explaining and more efctually putting in execution an act of General Assembly ntitled, An act for settling a ministry and raising a maintance for them in the city of New York, county of Richond, West Chester, and Queen's county." The princial design of this act is to make provision for a succession f ministers in these four counties upon a vacancy taking ace by the death or removal of the ministers settled by rtue of the first act, and in all times to come, of which e first act took no care, and farther providing that their laries shall be paid in money instead of country produce, enjoined by the act in 1693; but neither of these acts of 693 or 1705 give any distinguishing privileges to Episcoians in preference to any other denomination. And in nsequence of this the inhabitants of Queens county re-se to pay this tax to the Episcopal minister of Jamaica, d deny his right to it by either of the above laws; and a it in chancery is now depending for a settlement of the ntroversy.

Beside these three acts, which are indeed the principal es, there are the following of an ecclesiastical nature.

An act passed May the sixteenth, 1669, empowering e trustees of each town to raise money for building urches, or, as they are called in the title of the act, meetg-houses, though styled churches in the body of the act, d for keeping them in repair, in the same manner that ey raise money for court-houses, gaols, and other publick ildings; but this law has never been acted upon, and is w considered as obsolete.

Also another act against jesuits and popish priests, who e prohibited the exercise of their office in the colony on in of perpetual imprisonment, or in case of confinement d being taken, they are to suffer death. This law was sed in the year 1700, July the thirty first, principally to event the popish missionaries from Canada from practisg on the Indian allies of this province, and hereby sedu-

cing them from their allegiance to the British crown, u
der the pretext of religion.

There is another act passed June the 19th, 1703, e
bling the then minister of the French Protestant chu
in this city, and his elders, who are named in the act, to
their old church, and the lot on which it stood, and to p
chase another lot and build another church and parson
house thereon; and giving them a kind of an incorporat
for these purposes, though a very imperfect one.

There is another act obliging the vestrymen chosen
the city and county of New York, and in the counties
Richmond, Queens and West Chester, by virtue of the fi
ministry act as it is called in 1693, to take an oath faithf
ly and impartially to assess every freeholder and inhabit
of said city and counties for raising the sums specif
therein; and empowering any single justice in the cou
to administer said oath. This act was passed July 27, 17

There is also another act passed in the year 1744, cha
ing the time of electing the vestrymen and church ward
in Richmond county from the second Tuesday in Janu
the time fixed by the act in 1693, to the third Tues
in May.

And another passed November the 29th, 1745, enla
ing the number of vestrymen to be chosen in the city
New York, by virtue of the act of 1693, from ten to fo
teen, and obliging them to take an oath of the same te
with that prescribed in the act of July 27th, 1721, wh
oath is to be administered by two justices, whereof on
to be of the quorum.

Besides these there is another act of assembly, pas
December the twelfth, 1753, entitled "An act to ena
the minister, elders, and deacons of the reformed prote
ant Dutch church of the city of New York, to sell and c
pose of their lands, tenements, and hereditaments in
county of West Chester, commonly called and known
the name of the *manor of Fordham*, and for granting u
them some farther liberties and privileges for the bet
management of their affairs, and the well ordering and g
erning of their said church." This law not only empow
the then ministers, elders, and deacons of the Du
church, to dispose of the above manor, and directs that

monies arising therefrom shall be laid out in the purchase r improvement of any lands or real estate that shall be nore for the interest of said church, agreeable to the pious lesigns of the original donor, and for no other purposes. but it particularly mentions, and in the fullest manner onfirms, the charter of incorporation which this church had btained from governor Fletcher in the year 1696, and in ome capital articles enlarges its privileges. The principal f these is, that whereas the charter confined them to an state whose annual income should amount to no more an two hundred pounds currency, by this law they are nabled to enlarge it to the amount of one thousand pounds erling annual revenue, and that over and above the sum yearly rent of two hundred pounds mentioned in the said harter. This act received the royal confirmation Febru- y the 25th, 1755, without which, and until obtained by express clause in the law itself, it was to be of no force.* These are all the acts of an ecclesiastical nature to be found our code of laws, unless you include those against pro- aneness; such as drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, profane aming, swearing, blasphemy, and the like, of which there e several, and some very good ones. And perhaps the ason of it is, that beside the evident design of the Epis- palians, though a very handful at that time, to secure to emselves a dominion over their brethren of other denom- nations, by the three first of the above acts my lord rnbury, governor for the time being, in the summer of 02, and but a few months after his arrival, countenanced d supported a most cruel and ignominious persecution the Presbyterians in the town of Jamaica on Long Isl- d, by which they were violently dispossessed of their urch, and most dishonorably robbed of their parsonage- use and glebe lands by his lordship himself, and were ny years before they recovered them. Many of the prin- pal inhabitants were harassed with severe persecutions, avy fines, and long imprisonments, for assuming their just

* This church has a respectable fund of about 12000l. many valuable lots in the y of New York, and the township of Leyden six miles square in Gloucester coun- which was granted in 1769, and is subject to no quit-rents, his majesty having nerously released them forever under the signet and sign manual in this present h, 1775.

rights, and others fled out of the province to avoid the of episcopal cruelty.

In the year 1707 his lordship gave another specim his bigotry, cruelty, and persecuting spirit, by causing M'Kennie and Mr. Hampton, two Presbyterian mini travelling through the province, to be apprehended and prisoned for preaching each a sermon without his lords licence; the former in the city of New York, and th ter at Newtown on Long Island. Mr. Hampton was a wards discharged, no evidence being offered against to the grand jury; but a bill was found against M'Kennie, to the immortal disgrace of the jurors, of whom were members of the French and Dutch chu es, and he stood trial, but was honorably acquitted, th still held in bonds by the court, till they had illegally torted from him all the fees of his prosecution. In t attempts on religious liberty my lord however lost aim; and they only tended greatly to increase the lo deserved infamy under which he soon fell, and finally

The colony in general being non-episcopalian, and warned by the above measures, both insidious and vi to give the Episcopalians a superiority over other de inations; and withal becoming more enlightened, all attempts to get the assent of the assembly to any other of so odious and discriminating a nature have been hitl in vain; and it is to be hoped will become more and so; though it is evident the Episcopalians are watc every opportunity for this purpose Of this the follo fact may serve as an instance: Colonel Phillips having jected the scheme of episcopizing that part of his m commonly called the Yonkers in West Chester cou for this purpose caused a petition, artfully obtained, t presented to the House of Assembly on the 18th d September, 1764, praying that the ministry act of might be extended to that district. The house, not att ing to the design, gave leave to bring a bill,* which accordingly done.

But the scheme was happily defeated by the season and spirited opposition of a few gentlemen of the Pre terian church of this city, who have repeatedly distingu

* This leave was given 27th September.

d themselves in defence of the liberties of their country, civil and religious; and the bill was accordingly rejected by a great majority on the twelfth of October following, when its tendency came to be fully understood, there being only five votes in its favour. This measure would have been the more unjust, as the inhabitants of that manor are chiefly non-episcopalians, and like to continue so, unless episcopized by such an establishment.

I cannot with proper precision give the numbers of the different denominations of christians in this colony; I shall however mention the following facts, and leave every one to judge for himself.

By a return made to the Secretary's office, in consequence of an order issued for this purpose in the year 1771, it appears there were one hundred and forty eight thousand five hundred and twenty four inhabitants in this province the last year. To which if we add about eight hundred persons who have come into it this year from Scotland and the north of Ireland, and the people who have removed in Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte counties, out of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire governments since the above list was taken, the number of which is considerable; and to these add the many families scattered through the woods in the frontier counties of the province, that could not possibly be numbered with any degree of exactness, we may with great justice call its present inhabitants at least 150,000.

To enable you to guess at the proportion the several denominations that compose this number bear to each other, please to observe, that there are twenty three Dutch ministers settled in the province, who have congregations, all of which are pretty large, and most of them serve two, and some three churches: and there are besides twenty four vacant congregations, some of which are well able to support the gospel could they get ministers, and the rest by joining two, and in some places three together would be fully able for this purpose.

There are forty five Presbyterian ministers in the colony who have fixed charges, and three who at present have none. The most of these congregations are large, and some of them very small, and there are fifteen vacant con-

gregations, some of which are very large and very well able to support the gospel, and the rest by joining two together, and in some places three, would be sufficiently able also. Please to add to these, great numbers of Presbyterians, who are scattered in their settlements through the new counties of Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte on the north-easterly parts of the province; these counties are settling very fast, and almost entirely by Presbyterians. Some of them are already populous, and there is scarce one in fifty of the new settlers, who is an Episcopalian.

There are twenty one Episcopal ministers in the colony, some of whom have large congregations, particularly in the city of New York, where indeed the chief strength of episcopacy in the province lies. Here they have three large churches, in which three ministers officiate; and a small one which has a minister of its own, not in connexion with his brethren. Those of that denomination are very respectable in this city in point of numbers and wealth, and have as a corporation a very great estate in lands in and adjoining the city, granted them by lord Cornbury, the greatest part of which however some persons still claim as their right; beside a large tract of land lying in Gloucester county, and which they have free of quit-rent. This tract consists of twenty five thousand acres, and was granted March the thirty first, 1770. There were also two respectable missions in Queen's county, and two missionaries; the one at Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing, in which three towns there are about one hundred Episcopal families; and the other at Hempstead and Oyster Bay, rather larger in point of numbers, but not much. They have also a mission in Suffolk county, and two churches; one at Huntington, where the congregation does not consist of more than twenty families, and the other at Brookhaven, which is still smaller. I cannot give a particular account of the several Episcopal congregations in the province, but none of them can be called large, but those I have already mentioned. That in the city of Albany, which is an old mission, and has had many essential aids from home,* and some worthy ministers, does not after all consist of more

* This congregation has had 50l. sterling annually out of the privy purse ever Queen Ann's day; beside the Society's bounty every year.

than thirty families. That in Schenectady, where they also have a missionary, of not more than a dozen families. The missionary at Fort Hunter on the Mohawks river preaches only to the Indians and a few whites in the neighbourhood. There is also a very small number of Episcopalians at Johnstown and parts adjacent in Tryon county, where Sir William Johnson notwithstanding has a clergyman, who is one of the above twenty one. The missions in Ulster and Dutchess counties are very small. Those in West Chester and Richmond counties are larger, though none of them of them can be called large. And excepting those in the city of New York, and perhaps those in Queen's county, there is not a congregation of Episcopalians in the province sufficiently numerous and able to support the gospel without the aid of the money raised by the ministry act of 1693, which they have most unjustly monopolized to themselves; or the annual bounty they receive from the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Not one of them however does it, not even those of the city. There is no congregation of this denomination vacant in the province but the small one at Huntington by the death of their minister a few months ago. There are two of the above ministers who have no parishes.

There are three Lutheran ministers in the colony who have congregations, and two of them pretty large; and there are ten vacant congregations, some of which are large and well able to support ministers, and some of them that must join two or three together for this purpose. There are two other Lutheran ministers in it, but they have no parishes.

There are twelve Anabaptist ministers in this province who have congregations, some of them pretty large, and some but small. There are four vacant congregations, but none of them very large.

There are two small French Protestant congregations, the one in the city of New York, and the other at New Rochelle in West Chester county; but neither of them have settled ministers.

There are three Moravian congregations in the province, one in New York, one on Staten Island, and one in the Oblong in Dutchess county. But they are all small. The two former have ministers, but the third is vacant.

There are seventeen Quaker meeting houses in the co ony, in some of which pretty large congregations assemb for worship. There is one in Dutchess county to whi there belong seventy or eighty families. Their congreg tion in New York consists of about sixty families. Ar there are some others in the country respectable in point numbers, and some of them but very small.

There is beside a considerable number of separate lay preachers in the province who have congregations which they statedly preach, and some of them large. Son of these people call themselves Presbyterians or Congreg tionalists, and some Anabaptists. They are pretty num rous in the new counties in the north and north easter parts of the province, and parts adjacent, and on the ea end of Long Island, where they have two ministers.*

We have a congregation of Jews in the city of Ne York, which consists of between thirty and forty familie They have a synagogue, and enjoy full liberty of conscienc

There are no Roman Catholic churches in the provinc they being prohibited the publick exercise of their religi by the law I have already mentioned.

There are also throughout the whole government ma people who make no profession of any religion, and rarel if ever, attend any place of worship; who therefore cann be ranked with propriety under any of the above denom nations, though probably bred in one or other of them.

Upon the whole, if I may hazard a conjecture on the su ject, I think the Episcopalians cannot be more than the fi teenth part of the whole province. But this I subm However, notwithstanding their great inferiority in point numbers, the Episcopalians enjoy the smiles of governme beyond all other denominations. They obtain charters incorporation, however small their congregations, whenev they ask them, which none of the rest can. The Dut churches in the cities of New ork and Albany, in King town in Ulster county and Schenectady in Albany coun are the only non-episcopal churches in the province th have charters of incorporation.

The Scotch Presbyterian congregation in the city of Ne York applied to colonel Schuyler, then President of t

* There are seven Baptist separate preachers in the colony, and some of th have pretty large congregations.

council and commander in chief, for a charter as long ago as March the third, 1720, but were disappointed by the opposition of the Episcopalians. Governor Burnet arriving the same year, a petition of the same tenor was preferred to him September the nineteenth following; and though they asked nothing but a bare legal capacity to hold a small estate for the support of the worship of God among them according to their consciences, without any other boon, yet they were opposed and defeated by the rector and church wardens of Trinity church, who publickly appeared by their counsel against them before the governor and his majesty's council. The thirtieth of March, 1759, they again applied for the same favour to governor De Lancey, who had given them encouragement to expect it, and were disappointed by the practices of the same party. And March the eighteenth, in the year 1766, they petitioned the throne on the subject, and had the greatest encouragement of success from lord Dartmouth himself, then at the head of the board of trade; but were a fourth time defeated by the warm opposition of the bishop of London and other ecclesiastical dignitaries; his lordship appearing twice against them at the board of trade, being roused and animated, as we have the greatest reason to apprehend, by the Episcopalians on this side of the atlantic.

The first Lutheran church in the city of New York applied for a charter February the eighth, 1759. Their petition was sent home, and on being referred to the lords of trade, they reported it to be inexpedient to grant such a favour to people who were of neither of the establishments of Great Britain; in consequence of which they were denied it.

The Dutch churches of Orange Town, Kakiate, Marbletown, Rochester, and Wawaising, and the French Protestants of the city of New York, have all petitioned for the like favour several years ago, but hitherto without success.

Could the several non-episcopal denominations procure charters to hold estates for the support of the gospel among them, with as much ease as they are given to Episcopalians, it would greatly contribute to the security of religious liberty in the colony.

There has no law been made in this province rel to marriages, nor do any of the English statutes conce them extend to it. They stand therefore on the con law of the land; and as words de presenti constitute a riage by that law, the courts of judicature, on any co must leave the question *married or not* to the jury c county upon the proofs that are offered, as they do respect to any other enquiry relating to matter of This is attended with some inconveniences; but the p cians contend that they would be greater, if the legisl should interpose by a law to prevent clandestine marria and it is much to be doubted, whether the several brar would be brought to any unanimity on the subject, w attempted. The rites of marriage were at first celeb by the justices of the peace, as well as the clergy, e upon the governor's licence, or the publication of the b thrice in some place of worship. This was the cas the year 1748, before which time the licences ran, *t Protestant ministers;* but upon application of the Ep pal clergy who meant to monopolize this business, the since directed *to all Protestant ministers of the gospel,* from the time of this alteration the justices do not i meddle, except in such counties where clergymen scarce. But marriages are celebrated by clergymen denominations without distinction, and yet for any to the contrary, a marriage with or without licence or lication, and with or without the aid of a clergyman or gistrate, will be valid in law. A contract in words de senti, proved by witnesses and subsequent cohabitatio man and wife, constitute a marriage of legal validity, a ready suggested.

It must not be forgotten, that the establishment o college in the city of New York in the year 1754, o present narrow Episcopal plan, after the legislature granted a sum of money for the erection and support college on a broad bottom, is justly considered as an fringement of the religious liberty of the province.

It ought also to be mentioned, when considering the of religious liberty in the colony, that a bill passed House of Assembly, May the fifteenth, 1769, enti "An Act to exempt all Protestants in the countie

West Chester, New York, Queens, and Richmond, from any taxation for the support of the ministers of the gospel." This was designed to operate as a repeal of the ministry acts of 1693 and 1705, at least so far as they have been perverted to the obliging of non-episcopalians to contribute to the support of the Episcopal clergy without a formal repeal of them. But it was lost in the council.

Another bill of the same tenor, and with the same design, entitled "An act to exempt Protestants of all denominations from paying any clergymen by compulsory taxation," passed the House of Assembly January the twelfth, 1770, but it shared the same fate with the former.

There was also another bill passed the present Assembly in 1769, for incorporating the congregations of the several denominations of christians in the county of Albany of every persuasion, excepting the Quakers, and enabling them to hold estates to the amount of several hundred pounds a year for the maintenance of publick worship and schools, but was also lost in the council, for the same reasons that charters of incorporation are denied to non-episcopalians, lest the subjection of the province to episcopacy in a future day should be hereby rendered more difficult.

This matter was taken up again the next session, and the bill the second time passed the House January the sixteenth, 1770. It had now many advocates without doors, and instructions and petitions in its favour were given by several of the counties; but it sunk again in the council.

There was also a bill passed the House of Assembly March the fourteenth, 1772, entitled "An act to remove doubts in the administration of oaths." This bill was designed in favour of a number of people in the province, chiefly from Scotland and the north of Ireland, who conscientiously scruple the present legal form of taking an oath, *by kissing the Bible*, and to admit them to use the form established and in use in Scotland and the New England colonies *by lifting up the right hand.* These people have no objection to taking an oath when lawfully called to it; on the other hand they esteem it a duty. They scruple only the present mode of swearing, in which this bill was designed to ease them, and to which they have a just right

as good subjects. But it too was lost in the council These several bills may be considered as so many struggle of the people by their representatives in favour of religiou liberty, and as so many instances of defeat in this gloriou cause, that will assuredly prevail one day or other.

It is a settled point, that the ecclesiastical establishmen of England does not attend to the plantations; and as w have no general establishment in New York, the religiou state of the colony, is that of a set of Protestants of differ ent denominations which have been already mentioned and proportioned as above suggested, supporting the wor ship of God, by voluntary contributions, or by their con gregational funds, without any law favouring one sect mor than another; unless the acts I have already mentioned ma be construed as the Episcopalians contend, without ju cause. Except the act incorporating Trinity church.

The countenance of government will notwithstandin greatly tend to encourage and increase the Episcopalian who, from their inferiority, will be also led to a closer a tention to their interests than other denominations, whos numbers render them fearless and unguarded. The bish ops in England are also very watchful of their interes here. The bishop of London in particular makes it a ru to apply to every governor on his appointment on this hea and strongly recommends the Episcopal cause in the col ny to his friendship, and no opportunity is lost to procu aids for small and weak congregations of that denominatio from the society for propagating the gospel to enable them support ministers. Add to this, that in all the new town patenteed in this province for some years past, there is glebe of three hundred acres of land laid out near the ce tre of the town for an Episcopal missionary, and the f vested in said society. And besides all this, the crow gives instructions to every governor in their favour. Th standing instructions of a religious nature are of the follo ing import. They command the governor,

1. To find out means for the conversion of Negroes a Indians.

2. To permit liberty of conscience to all except Papis

3. To take care that God be worshipped, the Book Common Prayer used, and the sacraments administer according to the rites of the Church of England.

4. To see that the churches be built, that the clergy be maintained, and glebes be provided for this purpose.

5. That parishes have convenient limits.

6. To present no minister to a benefice without a certificate from the bishop of London, of his conformity to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, and of his good life and conversation.

7. To give orders that the minister be of the vestry in every church, and that there be no vestry held in his absence.

8. To report to the bishop of London every minister who preaches without orders.

9. To countenance the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London in the province.

10. To take care that no schoolmaster from England be permitted to teach school without the bishop of London's licence, nor from any other place without the governor's licence.

11. That a table of marriages be hung up in every church according to the canons of the Church of England.

12. To recommend it to the Assembly to pass laws against immorality.

13. To transmit an account of the number of the people.

14. To see that accounts be kept of all the baptisms and burials.

My lord Cornbury threatened to execute the tenth article, but durst not; nor any governor since. It is not indeed the interest of any governor to interfere in these matters, and they rarely do.

I shall only add, that there are no laws in this colony disqualifying persons for any civil office on account of their religious persuasion: unless Quakers may be considered as an exception, who, though they are indulged with affirmations instead of oaths, by a law extending the acts of parliament in their favour on this head; yet these are confined to civil cases. And as they cannot take the oaths required in such cases, they cannot be members of his Majesty's council, or sit in the house of Assembly, which is a real and a great grievance, and unfriendly to the cause of liberty.

I consider the subject only as it respects the causes of *Religious Liberty*, and therefore designedly omit many things that would be proper to observe, were I giving you the religious state of the province in any other view.

ACCOUNT OF THE DISSENTING INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE STATES, A. D. 1759, IN A LETTER FROM REV. DR. SPENCER TO DR. STILES.

Rev. and dear Sir,

WHEN I sent you a broken account of the dissenting interest in these parts, I was too ill to be particular and shall attempt this one as being more perfect.

The dissenters are made up of Independents, Baptists and Presbyterians. The last denomination are the most numerous. Besides these there are several Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, and French Protestant churches. The best account of these several denominations I have been able to obtain, is as follows:

1. Presbyterian clergy. This body formerly consisted of two synods, viz. the New York and Philadelphia, but in May, 1758, united into one, called the New York and Philadelphia synod. This synod collects all the Presbyterian clergy living in the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The synod consists of eight presbyteries respectively made up of ministers contiguous, without any regard to the boundaries of counties or of provinces; so that the number of ministers for instance, of New York Presbytery, are, by a great majority, made up of the clergy of New Jersey.

The Names of Presbyteries.			*No. of Ministers*
Hanover	Presbytery,	Virginia, - -	14
Dunnegal	Do.	Maryland, - -	11
Lewistown	Do.	Pennsylvania, -	6
New Castle	Do. in	Do. - - -	11
Philadelphia	Do. in	Do. - - -	15
New Brunswick	Do. in	New Jersey, - -	11
New York	Presbytery,	- - -	25
Suffolk	Do.	Long Island, N. York,	15

2. Dutch reformed churches in the provinces of New York and New Jersey, which formerly belonged to one Cœtus, but are now jumbled into two.

Dutch Ministers, - - - 20

3.	Lutheran Ministers, in New York, (I believe)	2
	in New Jersey, -	0
	in Philadelphia, (about)	4
4.	French Protestants, in New York, -	2
	in New Jersey, -	0
	in Pennsylvania, (I believe)	0
5.	Independents, in New York Province, at Long Island,	3
	These or Congregationalists in New Jersey, &c.	0
6.	Baptists, in New York Province, -	3
	in New Jersey, - -	5
	in Pennsylvania, (about)	4

7. The Church of England is but a very small part of the inhabitants of these provinces, having very small congregations, and they not numerous.

	Church of England Clergy,	
	In the province of New York, - -	7
	New Jersey, - -	5
	Pennsylvania, (about)	4

Were you to estimate the proportion of numbers in these several denominations, you would consider that there is a large number of Presbyterian vacancies within the bounds of our synod, especially in *Virgina*, where there is *not one minister to three societies*, and the number of vacancies increases daily. We have great need of young men who are willing to travel into the lower counties, which seem happily inclined to receive the gospel.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ELIHU SPENCER.

Shrewsbury, Nov. 3, 1759.

Rev. Mr. STILES.

ENGLISH MISSIONARIES IN AMERICA, Feb. 19, 1762.

FROM THE ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL.

	No. of Missionaries.		*No. of Missionaries.*
Newfoundland,	2	North Carolina,	5
Nova Scotia,	4	South Carolina,	4
Massachusetts,	8	Georgia & Bahama,	2
New Hampshire,	1		—
Connecticut,	16	Total Missionaries,	73
Rhode Island,	4	Total of Schoolmasters,	12
New York,	10		—
New Jersey,	8		85
Pennsylvania,	9		

Amount of salaries for 85 persons in service this year, 3727*l.* 10. 0.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF REV. CHARLES MORTON.*

The reverend Charles Morton, M. A. was one of the ejected ministers after the restoration of Charles II. The place of settlement, from which he was ejected, was Blisland, in the county of Cornwal. His father was Mr. Nicholas Morton, who was obliged to quit the very same rectory for non-conformity, in the reign of Charles I. He descended from an ancient family at Morton in Nottinghamshire, the seat of Thomas Morton, secretary to King Edward III. about 500 years since. Charles, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of Nicholas. At about the age of fourteen years, his grandfather sent him to Wadham College in Oxford, where he was very studious. While at the university he was zealous for the rites and ceremonies

* Mr. Morton is mentioned among the "eminent ministers in New England," in the Xth volume of the Collections; and this memoir was prepared for insertion in that volume (as a note *ibid.* p. 167, indicated), but it was excluded, with several other articles, to make room for the copious and invaluable Index to the ten volumes.

of the Church of England, after the example of his grandfather, who was a great royalist. "When the civil wars came on, observing that they, who were most debauched, generally sided with the king, against the more virtuous part of the nation, which generally affected the parliament side, and the vilest men on that side, which he thought the best, he thence began to apply himself seriously to the controversy between the prelatist and the puritan; and, after mature deliberation, determined to fall in with the latter. While he was fellow of the college, he was extremely valued by Dr. Wilkins, the warden, on the account of his mathematical genius. He was indeed a general scholar, but his eminency lay in the mathematics."

When he left the college, he was fixed in the ministry at Blisland, in his native county, where he lived comfortably several years. After his ejectment by the act of uniformity, he lived in a small tenement of his own in the parish of St. Ives, and preached privately to a few people of a neighbouring village, until the fire of London. Having sustained great loss by that fire, he removed into the city, to take care of his affairs; and was there prevailed on, by the entreaty of several friends, to undertake the instructing of youth in academical learning. This work, for which he "was extraordinarily well qualified," he entered on at Newington Green. "Many of his pupils," says Dr. Calamy, "are now [1727] very useful men, both in church and state. Some scores of young ministers were educated by him, as well as many other good scholars. He had indeed a peculiar talent of winning youth to the love of virtue and learning, both by his pleasant conversation, and by a familiar way of making difficult subjects easily intelligible. After about twenty years continuance in this employment, he was so infested with processes from the bishop's court, that he was forced to desist." At the same time, "being under great fears as to the public," he, in 1685, came over to New England, and was chosen pastor of the church at Charlestown, where he died in 1698, at the age of seventy-two years. His epitaph, composed by Rev. Mr. Bradstreet, is inserted in the VIIIth volume of our Historical Collections. It appears by Mather's Magnalia, [Book vi. p. 2.] that he was a fellow of Harvard College, A. D. 1694; and

by his epitaph, that he was Vice-President of that seminary.

Mr. Morton "was of a healthy constitution, of a sweet natural temper, and of a generous public spirit; an indefatigable friend, a pious, learned, ingenious, useful man; beloved and valued by all that knew him."

Being reflected on for teaching university learning, and represented as thereby breaking the oath which he took when he was in the university, he drew up a vindication of himself and his brethren from that accusation, which Dr. Calamy has published in his Continuation of the Account of Ejected Ministers. It fills 20 pages; and furnishes a handsome specimen of his learning and abilities. Beside this manuscript, which was transcribed by most of his pupils, he drew up, for their use, systems of the several arts and sciences, which he explained in his lectures; and copies of which were preserved until Dr. Calamy's time. Under the reign of Charles II. he composed "Advice to Candidates for the Ministry, under the present discouraging circumstances;" which Dr. Calamy published also in his Continuation. It fills 12 pages; and is worthy the attentive perusal of candidates for the ministry in any age.

The other publications of Mr. Morton are:

The Little Peacemaker, on Prov. xiii. 10.	12mo.	1674
Foolish Pride, the Makebate, -	8vo.	1674
Debts Discharge, on Rom. xiii. 8. -		1684
The Gaming Humour Considered and Reproved,		1684
The Way of Good Men, for Wise Men to Walk in,		1684

Season Birds, on Jerem. viii. 7.
Meditations on the History in the first 14 chapters of Exod.
———— on the Ark, its loss and recovery; and
———— on the beginning of 1 Samuel.

He wrote also several other treatises; some Meditations by way of Essay, on 1 Thess. v. 23, which he intitled, "The Spirit of Man;" an Inquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of Jeremiah viii. 7, *The Stork in the Heaven*, &c.; of Common Places, or Memorial Books; a treatise which he called Εὐλαξία, a Discourse of the Improvement of the County of Cornwal, the seventh chapter of which treats of sea sand as very useful for manuring land,

both for corn and grass, and is printed in the Philosophical Transactions of April, 1675. He wrote also Some Considerations of the New River; and a Letter to a Friend, to prove there is no such absolute need of money as men generally think. He wrote also several other short treatises, and was always brief and compendious, being a declared enemy to large volumes, as he signified by that adage, which he often repeated: Μεγὰ βιβλιον μεγὰ κακὸν, *A great book is a great evil.*

AN ACCOUNT OF REV. CHARLES MORTON.

Extracted from a Diary written by Samuel Penhallow, of Portsmouth, in the year 1719. *Communicated by John Penhallow, Esq. of Portsmouth, to Hon. Oliver Wendell, Esq.*

A. D. 1683, I went to the ingenious Mr. Morton, at Newington Green, near London; but the continued enmity of the bishops against all such schools of learning, arose to such a degree as, in a little time, to break up that large and flourishing seminary, which was so discouraging to Mr. Morton, that he embarked for New England, where he was invited and courted, and the rather to take upon him the presidentship of the college, being a gentleman of universal learning. He had an entire love for those of his country, and especially such as were his pupils. He desired me, with some others, to accompany him, with an assurance of his favour; which invitation I, with the consent of my parents, readily embraced; and the rather for that the Society in London to gospelize the Indians, assured me twenty pounds a year, for three years, to study the Indian tongue, and after that sixty pounds yearly during life, if in case I followed the ministry, and preached to them at times. But no sooner did we arrive at New England, which was in July, 1686, but I found a vast alteration in the state of affairs, the charter being gone, Mr. Dudley at the head of government, and Sir Edmund Andros soon after expect-

ed, in the Rose, ship of war, with a very arbitrary comr sion from king James. Whereupon Mr. Morton, inst of living at the college, accepted of a call from Charlest church, where he exercised in the ministry until de which was in the year 1696. Two young gentlemen, v came over in company, went daily unto his house, where read philosophical lectures, but the convulsion of aff were such as occasioned every man's thoughts to be watch. The fame of Mr. Morton, for educating yo men, rose so high, that several from the college began come from thence, which caused such an uneasiness in corporation, that he was forced to decline teaching any ther.

NOTICES OF THE TOWN OF SHREWSBURY, IN T COUNTY OF WORCESTER. COMMUNICATED BY R J. SUMNER.

THE town of Shrewsbury was incorporated Decem 19, 1727.

The second parish was formed Dec. 17, 1742; incor rated into a town by the name of Boylston, March 1, 17

What is now Shrewsbury, contained in 1790, accord to the census then taken, 963 inhabitants; they did amount to 1100, in the year 1800. From the 23d of Ju 1792, to June 23, 1804, there were 900 baptized; and far as I could ascertain the number of births, they were third more than the baptisms, almost 34 in a year upon average; the deaths in that time were 491, or not far fr that, between 12 and 13 in a year. The marriages in t time, upon my record, are 335, which I suppose to nearly the whole number. In the year 1790, there about one to fifty, that had arrived to 80 years, and ne that proportion, at the present time. In October, 17 died Mrs. Mary Jones, who was a native of Woburn, in 105th year of her age, and who retained her faculties wi a few days of her death. In March, 1768, died John Ke Esq. aged 94. He left an aged widow; with whom had lived in the married state more than 72 years.

August 20, 1803.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF REV. JOHN LOTHROPP.
BY REV. JOHN LATHROP, D. D.

Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.

DEAR SIR,

AT your request I have endeavoured to collect the scattered accounts which are to be found of the Rev. *John Lothropp*, who in the year of our Lord 1634 left his native country, in which he had been cruelly persecuted, and with a few associates, first planted a christian church in *Scituate;* and about five years after, planted the first christian church in *Barnstable.*

In the following biographical memoir I shall write the name, when speaking of Mr. *Lothropp*, as I find he wrote it; but when I shall have occasion to quote the writers of history, either European or American, I shall write the name as I find they wrote it.

How the name ought to be written at the present time may be a question. None of the posterity of the first of the name who came to America, now write the name, as he wrote it. In the old colony, where many of the descendants of Mr. *Lothropp* are found, the name is now written *Lothrop*, leaving out the last *p*, which was used by their ancestor.

The *Oxford* historian [*A. Wood*] who published his *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses* in 1691, wrote the name *Lathrop*, so did Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Neal*, and Mr. *Crosby*. Our Governor *Winthrop*, in his Journal, and Rev. Mr. *Prince*, in his chronological history, both wrote the name *Lathrop*. It is no doubt a *Saxon* name, compounded of *La (Saxon) look, see, behold;* and *Throp*, *Thorp*, or *Thorpe*, *the Saxon* word for a *village*. *Lo* in *English* is the same as *La* in the *Saxon*. It is certainly correct to retain *both* parts of the compound word, in the ancient language; as the *Saxon* name therefore, the correct way of writing it will be, *Lathorp*, *Lathrope*, or *Lathrop*. It is not at all wonderful that the name has been written in various ways. The orthography of English names, it is well known, dif-

fers at the present time, very much from the orthography 170 or 180 years ago.*

I will add, as some farther reason for writing the name *Lathrop*, the *Ensigns Armorial* are made out for that name, in the best books of heraldry.

I have not been able to find where Mr. *Lothropp*, the subject of this memoir was born, or at what school he was educated; but as he is mentioned by *A. Wood*, who professed to record the names of those "who have been admitted to one or two academical degree or degrees, in the ancient and most famous university of *Oxford*," no doubt *that* was the place of Mr. *Lothropp's* publick education.

In performing the work which I have undertaken, the following arrangement will be the most natural.—In the

First place, collect what I can find to my purpose, in the writers of the *English* history, particularly those who have recorded the persecutions and sufferings of such *ministers* of religion as were ejected or silenced for not subscribing certain articles, which their consciences would not suffer them to subscribe; or, not going into certain practices, which they considered either as immoral, or inconsistent with the doctrines and dicipline of the church of Christ.—And,

Secondly, collect what I can find to my purpose in the history of our own country.

The first English writer whom I shall quote on this occasion, is *A. Wood*, who published his *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses* in 1691. He mentions Mr. *John Lathorp* in connexion with Mr. *Henry Jacob*, and Mr. *Henry Jessie*.

He says "*Henry Jacob* was a Kentish man born, entered a commoner in Saint Maries Hall, 1579, aged 16; took the degree in arts and holy orders, and became beneficed in his own country. He was a person most excellently well read in theological authors, but withal was a most zealous puritan; or, as his son *Henry* used to say, *the first Independent in England.*"

In another place, this historian adds, "*Henry Jacob*, ed-

* In the *Oxford* historian, the following names, and many others, are written very differently from what they are now written: *Chickley*, now *Chrckley*; *Darby*, now *Derby*; *Elyott*, now *Eliot*; *Jarrys*, now *Jarvis*; *Massinger*, now *Messenger*; *Oates*, now *Otis*; *Perkyns*, now *Perkins*; *Raynolds*, now *Reynolds*; *Shirbourne*, now *Sherburne*: *Whyte*, now *White*.

ated in the low countries, under *Thomas Erpenius*, the nous critick, was actually created Bachelour of Arts by tue of the letters of the chauncellour of this university, itten in his behalf. He was soon after elected probation-fellow of *Merton College*, and is hereafter most deserv-ly to be inserted among the writers in the 2d vol. of this rk."*

The same historian says, "Henry Jessie, in 1618, be-me pensioner of St. John's College; whence, after he d taken one degree in arts, he was invited to live in the use of *Brampton Gourdon* of Assington in Suffolk, Gent. which house he studied physick as well as divinity. ter he had commenced M. A. which was in 1626, he ached privately in the neighbourhood, and distributed ctical books among the brethren. Afterwards he re-ved to several places, but was not permitted to tarry g in any, because he was zealously averse to conformi-. At length in 1645 he repaired to London, where he ned himself to the congregation of which Mr. *Henry ob* and Mr. *John Lathorp* had been pastors."†

Mr. *Daniel Neal*, in his history of the *puritans*, or prot-ant non-conformists, gives a particular account of the e and the manner in which the first Independent or Con-gational church was established in England; and he in-ms us that Mr. *John Lathorp* was the second minister that church, after he had left the parish in *Kent*, where was first settled.

"Among the puritans who fled from the persecution of *hop Bancroft*, was Mr. *Henry Jacob*. This divine hav-conferred with Mr. *Robinson*, pastor of an English urch in *Leyden*, embraced his peculiar sentiments of urch discipline, since known by the name of indepen-ncy. In the year 1610 Mr. Jacob published at Leyden, mall treatise entitled, *The divine beginning and institu-n of Christ's true, visible, and material church.* Some ne after he returned to England, and having imparted design of setting up a separate congregation, like those Holland, to the most learned *puritans* of those times, it

* Athenæ et Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 894, and 864.

† Fasti Oxon. p. 857.

was not condemned as unlawful, considering that there wa no prospect of a national reformation. Mr. *Jacob* havin summoned several of his friends together, and obtained thei consent to unite in church fellowship for enjoying the or dinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foun dation of the first *Independent* or *Congregational* church i England, after the following manner: Having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon thei undertaking, towards the close of the solemnity, each o them made open confession of their faith in our Lord Jesu Christ; and then standing together they joined hands, an solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Al mighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordi nances, according as he had already revealed, or *should fur ther make them known to them.*

"Mr. *Jacob* was then chosen pastor by the suffrage of th brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of dea cons, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands. Mr Jacob continued with his people about eight years; but i the year 1624 being desirous to enlarge his usefulness, h went, with their consent, to Virginia, where he soon after died

"Thus according to the testimony of the Oxford histo rian, and some others, Mr. *Henry Jacob* was the first inde pendent minister in England, and this the first independen church. Upon the departure of Mr. *Jacob* his church chos Mr. *Lathorp* their pastor."*

The account here given of the manner in which th first Congregational church was formed, and the first minis ter of that denomination in England was ordained, is inter esting: it appears that the church exercised the right bod of *electing* and *ordaining;* this must have been the case, a there was no church of the same denomination in the king dom to assist them. This *right*, which was exercised by the first Congregational church in England, is *claimed*, if no exercised, by the churches of the same denomination i America.

As it is well known the Oxford historian [*A. Wood*] wa no friend to dissenters from the established church, wha he says in favour of the learning and piety of the founders of the Congregational denomination may be taken in its ful

* Neal's history of the Puritans, Vol. 1. p. 477, 2d edit. London, 1754.

strength. The character which he has given of Mr. *Jacob* is an excellent one; and the only fault which he mentions, is, that Mr. *Jacob* was a most *violent puritan.* Mr. *Jacob* was the first minister of the first Congregational church in England; Mr. *Lathorp* the second minister, and Mr. *Jessie* the third.

Mr. *Neal*, having given an account of the establishment of the first independent church and congregation in England, resumed the account he promised to give of Mr. *Lathorp.*

"The dicipline of the church being relaxed, the Brownists or *Independents*, who had assembled in private, and shifted from house to house, for twenty or thirty years, resumed their courage and shewed themselves in publick.

"We have given an account of their original from Mr. *Robinson* and Mr. *Jacob*, in the year 1616, the last of whom was succeeded by Mr. *John Lathorp*, formerly a clergyman in *Kent*, but having renounced his orders, he became pastor of this little society. In his time the congregation was discovered by *Tomlinson* the bishop's pursuevant, April 29, 1632, at the house of Mr. *Humphrey Barnet*, a brewer's clerk in *Black Fryars*, where forty-two of them were apprehended, and only eighteen escaped: of those that were taken, some were confined in the *Clink*, others in *New Prison* and the *Gate-House*, where they continued about two years, and were then released upon bail, except Mr. *Lathorp*, for whom no favour could be obtained; he therefore petitioned the king" (Charles I.; Archbishop Laud, having refused every favour) "for liberty to depart the kingdom; which being granted, he went in 1634 to New England, with about thirty of his followers. Mr. *Lathorp* was a man of learning, and of a meek and quiet spirit; but met with some uneasiness, upon occasion of one of his people carrying his child to be re-baptized by the parish minister; some of the congregation insisting that it should be baptized, because the other administration was not valid; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative, and resolved by the majority, not to make any declaration at present, whether or not, parish churches were true churches. Upon this some of the more rigid, and others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of *infant baptism*, de-

sired their dismission, which was granted them: these up by themselves, and chose Mr. *Jesse* their minister, laid the foundation of the first Baptist congregation th have met with in England. But the rest renewed t covenant to walk together in the ways of God, so far a had made them known, *or should make them known them*, and to forsake all false ways. And so steadly w they to their vows, that hardly an instance can be produ of one that deserted to the church by the severest prose tions.

"Upon Mr. Lathorp's retiring to New England, congregation chose for their pastor the famous Mr. *Ca* author of the marginal references in the Bible."*

Mr. *Crosby*, in his history of the English Baptists, ta particular notice of the separation which took place in *Lathorp's* society, and the establishment of the first B tist church, mentioned by Mr. *Neal*. He says, "Mr. *sey*, a man of respectability and learning, was settled p tor of the church in London, which had been under care of Mr. *Lathorp*. In 1645 he (Mr. Jessey) becam Baptist, and was rebaptized by Mr. *Knollys*: he held hi ever to mixed communion all his life time."

It is pleasant to find, the first Baptists in England, the very church from which they separated, preserved th christian fellowship, and kept up communion with e other, notwithstanding their different opinions, with resp to the *subject* and the *mode* of baptism. It is greatly to lamented that a like catholick spirit has not been cherish in this part of the world. Surely no *one particular mode* of ministering, or of receiving this ordinance, can be necess to the salvation of the children of men. Why then do brethren of the Baptist denomination give so much con quence to their particular mode? Why do they exclude from their communion, even occasional communion, ho ever pious and exemplary in their life and conversati who have not received baptism by immersion?†

* Neal's Hist. Puritans, Vol 1. p. 663.

† Mr. *Jessey* had over his study door the following lines, which show how tious it is to a man fond of his books to be interrupted by *idlers*.

"Amice, quisquis hue ades,
Aut agcto paucis; aut abi;
Aut me laborantem adjuva." *Crosby's Hist. Baptists, Vol.* 1. *p.* 3

Dr. *Calamy*, in his continuation of the account of ministers who were ejected or silenced, mentions several of the facts related by *Neal* and *Crosby*, particularly those which relate to the settlement of Mr. *Lathorp*, pastor of the independent church in London, after Mr. *Jacob* removed to Virginia.

Having related as much perhaps as may be necessary from those English writers, who have taken notice of Mr. *Lathorp* among the many who suffered under prelatical oppression, in those unhappy times when the rights of conscience were little understood, I will go on to collect from the early history of our country, what our own writers will furnish for this memoir.

In Governor Winthrop's journal, which was written by himself, we have the following account:

"The *Griffin*, and another ship now arriving with about 200 passengers, (Mr. *Lathrop* and Mr. *Sims*, two godly ministers coming in the same ship.")*

He adds in the next page, "Mr. Lathrop had been pastor of a private congregation in London, and for the same, kept long time in prison, (upon refusal of the oath *ex officio*) being in Boston upon a sacrament day, after the sermon, desired leave of the congregation to be present at the administration, but said that he durst not desire to partake in it, because he was not then in order, being dismissed from his former congregation."

Rev. Mr. *Prince*, in his chronological history of New-England, page 145, says, "this year, 1624, Mr. *Henry Jacob*, who had set up an independent church in England in 1616, with the consent of his church, goes to Virginia, where soon after he dies; but upon his departure his congregation chose Mr. *Lathrop* their pastor." In the preface, Mr. Prince names the manuscripts which he used in compiling his history, and among them, "An original register, wrote by the Rev. *John Lathrop*, recording the first affairs both of Scituate and Barnstable, of which towns he was successively the first minister."

In New England's Memorial, Mr. Secretary *Morton* has left an account of the subject of this memoir, which must not be omitted. Under the date of 1653, "This year," says he, "Mr. John Laythrop did put off this earthly tabernacle.

* Journal p. 71. Hartford, 1790.

He was sometime preacher of God's word at Egerton in Kent, from whence he went to London and was chosen pastor of a church of Christ there. He was greatly troubled and imprisoned for witnessing against the errors of the times. During the time of his imprisonment his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife (once) before her death, and commended her to God in prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost." Mr. *Morton*, says the chidren, after the death of their mother, repaired to the bishop at Lambeth, and made known to him their great distress, and he showed them compassion, and consented that their father should be released from prison. (Neal says Mr. Lathorp petitioned the king, and the *king* gave him his liberty.) "Soon after he came over into New England, and settled for some time in the town of *Scituate*, and was chosen pastor of their church: afterwards the said church dividing, a part whereof removed to Barnstable, he removed with them and remained until his death. He was a man of an humble and broken heart and spirit. Lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend and be spent for the cause and church of Christ. He fell on sleep in the Lord, November 8,1653."

Mr. John *Higginson* and Mr. Thomas *Thacher* in their recommendatory preface to New England's Memorial, dated March 26, 1669, say, "The author is an approved godly man, and one of the first planters of Plymouth. The work itself is compiled with modesty of spirit, simplicity of style, and truth of matter, containing the annals of New England for the space of 47 years, with special reference to Plymouth colony, which is the first, and where the author had his constant abode."

Mr. Secretary *Morton* was a nephew of the second governor of the old colony, *William Bradford*, from whose manuscripts, together with certain diurnals of the first *governor Winslow*, he says he collected the greatest part of the materials for *his*, which is the first history of New England. The book is dedicated to *governor Prince*, who succeeded governor Winslow in 1634.

Mr. Morton wrote the name of the subject of this memoir *Laythrop*, which is a little different from the way in

which any others have written it, but nearly as it has been generally pronounced in the colony of Plymouth, until of late.

Two letters signed by John Lothropp, and directed to governor Prince, have been found, a few years since, among papers long neglected as useless, but which deserve a place in our Historical Collections. The letters now referred to, I consider the most valuable part of this memoir. They now follow. The first is dated,

Situate, February 18, 1638.

"*To the right worthy and much-reverenced, Mr. Prince, governor---Grace mercy and peace be forever multiplied.*

SUNDRY circumstances of importance concurring towards the present state of myself and the people in covenant with me, presse me yett againe to sett pen to paper, to the end that the busyness in hand might with greater expedition be pressed forward, if it may be: not willing to leave any lawful means unattempted, that we are able to judge, to be the means of God, that soe we might have the more comfort to rest in the issue that God himselfe shall give in the use of his own means. Yett I would be loth to be too much pressing herein, least the more haste on our part should occasion the less speed, or, overspurring, when by reason of abundance of freeness, there needs none at all, I should disharten, and soe procure some unwillingness. But considering your godly wisdome in discerning our condition, and presuming of your love unfeigned to us-ward, which cannot but effect a readiness on your part, in passing by and covering of our infirmitye, I am much emboldened, with all due reverence and respect, both to your place and person, to re-salute you.

The truth is, many greviances attend mee, from the which I would bee freed, or att least have them mittigated, if the Lord see it good. Yett would I raither with patience leave them, than to greive or sadd any heart, whose heart ought not to be greived by me, much lesse yours; whom I honour and regard with my soule, as I do that worthy instrument of God's honour, together with yourselfe, Mr. Bradford, because I am confident you make the advanceing

of God's honour your chiefest honour. And the raither I would not bee any meanes to greive you, inasmuch as I conceive you want not meanes otherwise of grief enough. But that I be not too tedious, and consequently too greivous. The principal occasion of my present writing is this: Your worthy selfe, together with the rest joyned and assisting in government with you, much reverenced and esteemed of us, having gratiously and freely uppon our earnest and humble suites, granted and conferred a place for the transplanting of us, to the end God might have the more glorye and wee more comfort: both which wee have solidd grounds to induce us to believe, will be effected: For the which free and most loveing grant, we both are, and ever remaine to bee, by the grace of the highest, abundantly thankeful. Now here lyes the stone that some of the breathren here stumbel att; which happely is but immaginarye, and not reall, and then there will be no need of removeall. And that is this, some of them have certaine jelousies and fears, that there is some privie undermineing and secrett plotting by some there, with some here, to hinder the seasonable successe of the work in hand, to witt of our removeall, by procuring a procrastination, in some kinde of project, to have the tyme deferred, that the conveniencye of the tyme of remoeving beeing wore out before we can have free and cleare passage to remove, that soe wee might not remove att all. But what some one particular happely with you, with some amongst us here, may attempt in this kinde for private and personal ends, I neither know, nor care, nor fear, forasmuch as I am fully perswaded that your endeared selfe, and Mr. Bradford, with the rest in general, to whom power in this behalfe belongeth, are sincerelye and firmelye for us, to expeditt and compleate the busyness as soon as may be, so that our travells and paines, our costs and charge, shall not be lost and in vaine herein, nor our hopes frustrated. Now the trueth is, I have been the more willing to endite and present these feew lines, partly to wipe away any rumour that might bee any wayes raised upp of distrustfullness on our partes, especially, to clear my owne innocencye of having any suspition herein; as alsoe to signifye since the place hath been granted and confirmed unto us; some of the breathren have sold their houses

and lands here, and have put themselves out of all. And others have put out their improved grounds to the half increase thereof, upon their undoubted expectation forthwith as it were to begin to build and plant in the new plantation. Wherein if they should be disappointed, it would be a means to cast them into some great extremitye. Wherefore lett me intreate and beseech you in the bowells of the Lord, without any offence, both in this respect, as also for other reasons of greater importance, which I will forbear to specifye: To do this further great curtesye for us, to make composition with the Indians for the place, and priviledges thereof in our behalfe, with that speed you cann: and wee will freely give satisfaction to them, and strive to bee the more enlarged in thankefulnesse to you. I verily thinke wee shall never have any rest in our spiritts, to rest or stay here; and I suppose you thinke little * * *otherwise*, and am therefore the more confident that you will not neglect any opportunitye, that might make for our expedition herein. I and some of the breathren have intreated our brother John Coake, who is with you, and of you, a member of your congregation, to bee the best furtherance in such occasions, as either doe or may concerne us, as possibly hee may or cann, who hath alsoe promised unto us his best service herein. Thus wishing and praying for your greatest prosperitye every wayes, I humbly take my leave.

Remaining to be at your command and service in the Lord.

JOHN LOTHROPP.

From *Scituate, Feb.* 18, 1638. [Superscribed thus]

To the right worthy and much-honored Governor Prince, att his house in Plimouth."

Give these I pray.

SECOND LETTER.

"*To the right worthy and much-honoured Mr. Prince, our endeavoured governour at Plimouth,---Grace, mercy and peace, be multiplyed.*

My dear and pretious,

Esteemed with the highest esteeme and respect, above every other particular in these territoryes; being now in the

roome of God, and by him that is the God of gods, dep
ed as a god on earth unto us, in respect of princely fu
tion and calling. Unto whom wee ingeniously confesse
condigne and humble service from us to bee most d
And if we knowe our hearts, you have our hearts, and o
best wishes for you. As Peter said in another case, d
wee in this particular say, It is good for us to be heer
(wee mean under this septer and goverment) under whi
wee can bee best content to live and dye. And if it b
possible we would have nothing for to seperate us fr
you, unlesse it be death. Our souls (I speak in regard
many of us) are firmely lincked unto your worthy selfe, a
unto many, the Lord's worthyes with you. Wee shall e
account your advancment ours. And I hope throu
grace, both by prayer and practice, wee shall endeavour
our best abilitye, to advance both the throne of civill dig
tye, and the kingly throne of Christ, in the severall adm
istrations thereof in the midst of you. Hereunto (the tr
is) we can have no primer obligation, than the straite a
stronge tyes of the gospell. If we hadd noe more, this wo
alwayes bee enough to binde us close in discharge of
willing and faithfull duetye both unto you and likewise
to all the Lord's anointed ones with you. But seeing o
and above, out of your gratious dispositions (through
grace and mercy of the Highest) you are pleased to
your faces of favour more towards us, (though a poor a
contemptable people) than towards any other particular p
ple whatsoever, that is a people distinct from yourselv
As wee have had good and cleare experience hereof befo
and that from tyme to tyme; soe wee now againe in
renewed commiseration toward us, as most affection
nurseing fathers, being exceeding willing and readye
gratifye us, even to our best content, in the pointe of
moveall: Wee being incapacitated thereunto, and that
divers weighty considerations, some, if not all of whi
are well known bothe to yourselfe, and to others with y
Now your love being to us transcendent, passing the l
you have shewed to any without you, wee can soe mu
the more, as indebted unto our good God in praises,
unto yourselves in services. We will ever sett downe
humble thankfullness in the perpetual memory of your e

ceeding kindnesse. Now we stand stedfast in our resolution to remove our tents and pitch elsewhere, if wee cann see Jehovah going before us. And in very deed, in our removeing, wee would have our principal ende, God's own glorye, our Sion's better peace and prosperitye, and the sweet and happie regiment of the Prince of our salvation more jointly imbraced, and more fully exalted. And if externall comfortable conveniencies as an overplus, shall bee cast in, according to the free promise of the Lord, wee trust then, as wee shall receive more compleate comfort from him, soe he shall receive more compleate honour by us: for which purpose wee humbly crave, as the fervencye of your devotions, soe the constancye of your wonted christian endeavours. And being fully perswaded of your best assistance herein, as well in the one as in the other, wee will labour to wait at the throne of grace, expecting that issue that the Lord shall deeme best.

In the interim, with abundance of humble and unfeigned thankes on every hand on our parts remembered, wee take our leave, remaining, obliged forever unto you, in all duety and service.

JOHN LOTHROPP.

From *Scituate*, the 28 of this 7th month, [*September*] 1638.

N. B. Three names are subscribed beneath the name of Mr. Lothropp, which are not perfectly legible: the first appears to be *Anthony Anniball;* the second, ... Cobb; the third, ... Robinson; to which are added the words, "In the behalf of the church." [Superscribed thus:]

To the right worthy and much-reverenced Mr. Prince, Governour att Plimoth."

I have seen a copy of the last will and testament of Mr. John Lothropp, taken from the records of the Old Colony of Plymouth; but as there is nothing in it out of the common form which would be interesting to any not particularly connected with the family, I have not transcribed it. There is also an inventory of his goods, taken by

THOMAS DIMMACKE, | JOHN COOPER,
HENRY COBB, | THOMAS HINCKLEY.

Thomas Hinckley was afterwards Governor of the colony. The amount of goods appraised was 72*l.* 16 5. His real estate, consisting of two houses and several lots of land in Barnstable, he left to his wife and his eldest son. The will had no signature nor seal.

I had an opportunity, a few months since, to examine the records of the church of which Mr. Lothropp was the first pastor, but could find nothing in his hand writing: The following is the only minute on the book relating to his settlement, viz. "Persons baptized by Mr. Lothrop since October 11th, 1639. After his removal from Scituate, taken out of a book in the possession of the Widow Fuller, written by his own hand." This minute was made in the first church book of records, by Rev. *Thomas Walley*, who succeeded Mr. *Lothropp*, and was ordained A. D. 1663, about ten years after Mr. *Lothropp*'s death. As Mr. *Lothropp* was settled at Scituate soon after he came to America, which was September, 1634, and removed to Barnstable in October, 1639. He was pastor of the church where he first settled, about five years. He died Nov. 8, 1653; having been about fourteen years pastor of the church in Barnstable.

Rev. *Thomas Walley* was ordained 1663---died in 1678; eight years after Rev. *John Russell*, who had been settled before in Hadley, was ordained pastor of the church in Barnstable. *Jonathan Russell* succeeded his father, and was ordained October 29, 1712. Rev. *Oaks Shaw*, succeeded Mr. *Jonathan Russell*, and was ordained October, 1760.

From a record of the family of Mr. Lothropp, preserved by one of his grand-daughters, and now to be seen at the town of *Dennis*, in the county of Barnstable, I have received the following extract---"My honoured grandfather, Mr. John Lothrop, who was the pastor of the church in Barnstable, deceased in the year 1653, who brought from England with him four sons, viz. *Thomas*, who settled in Barnstable; *Samuel*, at Norwich; *Joseph*, at Barnstable, and *Benjamin*, at Charlestown. And after he came to New England, Barnabas and John, both settled in Barnstable."

N. B. The two last sons were by a second wife. The first wife died while he was a prisoner in England.

In the last will there is mention of two daughters, *Jane* and *Barbarah*: to whom he says he had *already given portions*, from which we may conclude they were married; but whether they were born in England or America, I know not.

From *Thomas*, the eldest son, those of the name of Lothrop, in Plymouth, and that vicinity, trace their descent.

From *Samuel*, the second son, who settled at Norwich, in Connecticut, the numerous families of the name in that state, in New York and Vermont, trace their descent. The families, in the county of Barnstable, descended from Joseph, Barnabas, and John. The families of the name who have lived in Essex county, I suppose descended from Benjamin, who early settled in Charlestown.

In the Old Colony of Plymouth the name has been generally, and is now written *Lo*throp. In the records of the church, I observed the first Mr. *Russell* wrote the name *La*throp, as it was generally pronounced in that place. But his son and successor, and also Mr. *Shaw*, wrote the name *Lothrop*. The descendants of *Samuel*, who settled in Connecticut, have, many years past, wrote the name *Lathrop*. And as *Europeans*, and almost all the historians of both countries, who have occasion to write the name, write it *Lathrop*,* or with the *o* before the *r Lathorp*, and the *family arms* are made out for the name *Lathrop*, we think we have pretty good authority to retain the Saxon *La*, rather than use the English *Lo*. But as the difference is only about *one* letter, it would be a pleasant thing, if we who came from one root could all agree to write the name with the same letters.

Thus, sir, have I given the best account I have been able to collect of our *great great grandfather; mine* by my father's side, and *yours* by your mother's.

We have the satisfaction to find, by all who have mentioned him in their historical works, that he was a man of learning, (the learning of that day) a man of piety, of meekness and of a peaceful disposition: faithful and constant, and warm in the discharge of ministerial duties.

* In the great library in Philadelphia there is a book, the title of which is, "An authentick elucidation of the history of *Count Struensee* and *Brandt*, and of the revolution in Denmark in the year 1772. Translated from the German by B. *Lathrope*." London, 1789.

We are amazed, when we contemplate the wonderful providence of God, which brought our fathers into this quarter of the world, to turn this wilderness into fruitful fields, and plant churches where the true God was not known, and the name of the Saviour had never been heard. Reflections of the most interesting nature rise in our minds when we are attending to the circumstances of those excellent men, who brought the light of the gospel and science to the country in which we live.

With great esteem, I am, sir,
Your most obedient servant and brother,
JOHN LATHROP.

Rev. Dr. Holmes.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NEEDHAM.

THIS town is situated in the county of Norfolk, about thirteen miles northwesterly from Boston, and six miles westerly and northwesterly from Dedham. Its length from east to northwest is about seven miles and an half, and its breadth from north to south is about four miles and three quarters.

The town is a peniusula, as more than two thirds of it are surrounded by Charles river, which separates it southerly and southwesterly from Dover; easterly and southeasterly from Dedham; and north and northerly from Newton. Northwesterly it is bounded on Weston, and westerly on Natick.

There are nine bridges over this river, in its separatory course between Needham and the three towns first mentioned. In that course of the river, which separates this town from Newton, there are two falls, called the upper and the lower falls, which form a number of valuable mill seats. At the upper falls is the largest cataract in the whole of Charles river from its source to its mouth. The water here falls suddenly twenty feet upon a bed of rocks. The dashing and foaming scene, which is here viewed, is very impressive to the mind. While curiosity is gratified, some emotions of awe are naturally excited.

At these falls, on Newton side, are one grist mill, a number of snuff mills, two mills for cutting and heading nails, one trip hammer, one slitting mill, and one saw mill. About two miles below are the lower falls. Here the water falls more gradually, and the mill seats are more numerous. On Needham side are three paper mills, two grist mills, one saw mill, and a clothier's works. On Newton side are five paper mills, one saw mill, one fulling mill, and one wire mill.

At the southerly part of the town, where the river separates Needham from Dover, there is, on Needham side, one paper mill, and on Dover side, are one slitting mill, one grist mill, and one saw mill. And in the easterly part of the town, where the river divides Needham from Dedham is another valuable mill seat, but which has never been improved.

There are large bodies of meadow on the banks of this river, in its course of boundary before mentioned. Broad meadow, so called, lying partly in Needham, and partly in Dedham and Newton, is said to be one of the largest in the commonwealth.

This town is exceedingly well watered. Besides Charles river, whose circumfluent course has been described, there is a large number of lasting springs and brooks in different parts of the town, much to the convenience of the inhabitants. On these rivulets and streams, flowing in various directions, are large quantities of intervale and meadow lands. Rosemary brook, so called, is remarkable for extent of meadow on its banks. Two saw mills have been erected upon this brook; the one near the source; the other about a mile below, which has lately been taken down. The first mentioned, still remains. In the westerly part of the town, is another stream, upon which a grist mill and a saw mill are erected. In this part of the town are also two ponds, called *Bullard's* and *Broad's* pond. *Bullard's* pond is the most extensive, and covers about 140 acres of land. This pond abounds with valuable fish of different kinds. About half a mile from this, is *Broad's* pond, which is of smaller dimension, spreading over about 16 acres.

The face of the town is in a degree hilly and uneven, and in some parts is rocky. Besides many smaller hills, there

are four of considerable eminence, viz. *Bird's* hill, in the easterly part of the town; *North* hill, near the centre; *Bullard's* hill, in the westerly part; and another in the northerly part, called Magus hill, from the circumstance of its being anciently owned by an Indian* of that name. Each of these hills affords an extensive prospect.

There are also two large plains, one in the westerly and the other in the easterly part of the town, called pine plain and great plain. Both these plains are of easy tillage and good for grain. Great plain is much noted for bearing a drought, and is an excellent tract of land. Towards the river and in several other parts of the town, the soil is naturally rich and fertile. Where it is duly cultivated, it yields large quantities of grass, rye, Indian corn, barley, oats, flax, &c. It is also esteemed good for orcharding and fruitage.

The town is remarkably well wooded, and has large quantities of valuable timber. The general and natural growth of wood is oak of the several kinds, walnut, chesnut, pine, ash, birch, maple, spruce, &c.

As the situation of the town is somewhat retired, mechanics and tradesmen have never been numerous in it. There are, however, at present, four hatter's shops and one manufacturer of potter's ware. The people depend chiefly, for subsistence and livelihood, upon the produce of their farms, and the sale of wood and timber.

In the easterly part of the town, which comprises the first parish, the people have settled principally near the river, so that in passing through the parish by a straight line, in any direction, but few houses will be seen. In the westerly part, the settlements are more conspicuous to a traveller, but still are not compact. Worcester turnpike passes, for a few miles, through this part of the town. The town in general would admit of more settlements. Much of the land is yet uncultivated; and perhaps a third more inhabitants, than the present number, might be equally well supported, by a more extensive cultivation of the soil.

* Supposed to be the same *John Magus*, who, with *Lawrence Nassowanno*, on the 27th of December, 1686, for the sum of 20*l.* New England currency, sold to *Joshua Lamb* and others, his associates, belonging to Roxbury, that tract of land, which now comprises the town of *Hardwick*, in the county of Worcester.

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TOWN OF LUNENBURGH. [NOV. 1810.]

LUNENBERG is situated in the county of Worcester, bounding on the east by Shirley, on the north and northwest by Townsend and Ashby, in the county of Middlesex, on the west and southwest by Fitchburgh and Leominster; and on the south by Lancaster, in the county of Worcester. It lies nearly 10 miles north from Lancaster, and as many southwest from Groton; being distant from Boston, in a northwest direction, 41 miles by the present road, through Concord and Littleton, and thirty seven and an half by the Nashua turnpike, now building.

It is nearly five miles square in extent, containing, it is computed, 1400 acres, on which, by the last census, there were 192 houses, and 1300 souls. The result of the present census is not known; but being remarkably healthy, notwithstanding annual emigrations, it is presumed the present population is nearly 1500.

It is a land of hills and vales, fountains and springs of water. But, though hilly, it is not encumbered with rocks, there being no more than a sufficiency for fences. Its extensive ridges, unlike those on the sea-board, are the best soil, and are remarkable for supporting drought. A stratum of clay, immediately beneath the first layer of soil, retains the moisture, and the hills and vales generally preserve the brightest verdure through the summer. There are no heaths, few ledgy hills, and scarcely any sunken lands, covered with stagnant waters. Of course, almost the whole surface of the town is susceptible of cultivation. It is generally divided into small farms, containing from eighty to an hundred acres, on which live industrious and cheerful farmers, who are compelled to be temperate and laborious, and who can aspire to no more than a competence. A few may be considered as opulent.

The soil is rich and warm; and where duly cultivated, fertile; the hills producing as fine wheat, as perhaps any lands east of the green mountains. It appears to be peculiarly calculated for the cultivation of fruit-trees. The orchards are extensive and fine, though decaying; and gar-

den fruits of the common kinds are produced, almost spontaneously, in abundance. Cider is made in common years far beyond the consumption of the inhabitants. But an important remark may be made on the orchards here, which will apply too generally to the whole commonwealth, that there prevails a spirit of inattention to the rearing of young trees, to supply the old orchards in succession, as they decay.

The forests are composed of the usual woods of this section of country. The proportion of walnut and chesnut is larger than common. Beech, in ascending from the sea-board, first begins to be plenty at this distance from the sea.

Innumerable rivulets bubble from the sides of the hills, and increase to brooks. There is but one stream, that merits the name of river, and that has the unpastoral name of Molpus. From this deficiency of streams, there results a want of a sufficient number of mill-seats, and sites for water machinery. These abound, however, in the distance of five miles in the adjoining towns, and there are in this town a number of saw and grain mills.

From the above mentioned circumstance, although the population is large for the extent of land, this town has had but a small proportion of manufactures. The fine oak and chesnut timber has given employment to a great number of coopers. Book-binding is also carried on extensively, and the town has recently become noted for the manufacture of straw bonnets. The amount of bonnets, carried to market, is variously calculated; but by none less, than 15,000 dollars annually. It is an honourable testimony to the great industry and enterprise of the female part of the town.

In the centre of the town is a neat and handsome village, which makes a romantic appearance, as you approach it from the south. The scenery on the west is rich and diversified; and in the back ground exhibits sublime views of the lofty elevations in Leominster and Princeton. Three ponds in different parts of the town, two of them large and beautiful, filled to the brim with pure waters, and fringed in summer with the deepest verdure, contribute to the pleasantness of its scenery.

Being situated on airy hills, on the summits of which, the eye takes in an immense horizon, in full view of Watchusett, Monadnock, Watatic, and the Lyndeborough mountains, swept by the most salubrious breezes of the north in summer, and the keenest in winter, and these unmixed by putrid exhalations from stagnant waters, it is remarkably healthy, exhibiting great numbers of people, enjoying a cheerful and vigorous old age. The deaths for eight years past have annually averaged little more, than one to an hundred.

Although the nearest route from Walpole, N. H. and the central parts of Vermont to Boston is through this town, yet, owing to the greater exertions of the towns north and south of this, the great roads have been carried through those towns, and have left this isolated and destitute of travel. A stage now runs regularly twice a week to Boston, and a turnpike now building connecting with that from Concord to Boston, on the one hand, and with that to Walpole, N. H. on the other, will probably restore it to its just proportion of travel.

The inhabitants, thus sequestered, lead a solitary, a peaceful, and regular life, are given to hospitality, and exhibit, perhaps, as much of the simplicity and frugality of New England manners, as any town in the Commonwealth.

Europeans ridicule the claims of any of our settlements to age. This town, speaking in our dialect, is, comparatively old. It was first settled in 1719, and incorporated in 1728. Previous to its incorporation, it bore the name of turkey-hills, from the numerous flocks of wild turkeys, that were sheltered, and fed in its groves. There are inhabitants still living, primitive settlers of the town, who remember, when its woods first echoed the sound of the settler's axe; when all beyond to the west and north, quite to Connecticut river, was a pathless wilderness. These hoary patriarchs delight to recal the "days of other years," when in all the sinewy vigour of temperance, of toil and youth, they pursued the bear, wolf, or deer, through forests, as old as the world, every trace of which has been obliterated for forty years. They occasionally give interest to these naratives, by interspersing in them anecdotes of rencontres with their red brethren and neighbours. As might be ex-

pected, the contests generally terminated favourably to the narrator. The town suffered little in its infancy, except fear from the savages. The frontier houses were garrisoned, and these people recollect attending public worship, armed with guns. In the summer of 1749 the savages made an irruption into a garrisoned house, killed two soldiers, and carried Mr. Fitch, his wife and children, into captivity in Canada, in which they suffered unparalled distress, under which Mrs. Fitch sunk. The remainder were ransomed, and returned.

The ecclesiastical history of the town presents a scene of uncommon order and peace. A church was early gathered and a minister ordained. The present is the fifth minister in succession. The career of two was short. They have lived and died in peace and privacy. The predecessor of the present minister was distinguished and respected. The Rev. Mr. Adams was a relative of the late president. Ardent in feeling, vivid in imagination, copious and fervid in expression, with a fine figure and vehement gesture, he possessed all the materials of an orator, and many of his printed discourses are favourable specimens of eloquence.

The number of sectarians is comparatively small, and of the church large; there being on the records the names of two hundred living members. The records also present the names of two thousand six hundred infants and adults, that have received baptism.

NOTE ON ATTLEBOROUGH,

*Being an Extract from a Letter written by Rev. *Habijah Weld to Rev. Thomas Prince, about the year* 1750, *and designed as a Document for the New England Annals.*

ATTLEBOROUGH being a certain tract of land lying on the northerly side of Rehoboth, and purchased by the inhabitants of that town, was called, formerly, REHOBOTH NORTH PURCHASE, and was made a township, by the Gen-

* For memoirs of Mr. Weld, see Alden's Coll. of Epitaphs, art. 118.

eral Court, in the year 1694, containing then thirty families, belonging to, and still remaining in, the county of Bristol. But immediately after the grant of this township, there arose a controversy between this town and Rehoboth, respecting a mile and a half of land contained in the grant, which was petitioned for, and recovered by Rehoboth, and again annexed to that town; and with the land, fourteen of the said thirty families, and by this means, they were disabled from supporting, and continued, for many years, without a settled ministry. But in the year 1710, Attleborough petitioned the General Court and recovered again said land, after which they proceeded to elect and settle a minister among them.

The Rev. Mr. Matthew Short was their first minister, who was called October 1, 1711, and ordained November 12, 1712; but he had not been long ordained before there arose contentions between him and the people, such as obliged them to call a council to advise to methods, whereby their differences might be accommodated. But not finding sufficient grounds, from what they alleged against Mr. Short, to dismiss him from his ministry among them, they advised Mr. Short to strive to recover the affections of his people, which, if he did, it was in vain. The difference still remaining, and there being no probability of its being healed, he requested a dismission from them, May 31, 1715, which the people readily complied with.

After him came the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer White, who was chosen to succeed Mr. Short, July 15, 1715, and ordained October 17, 1716, and died September 4, 1726.

After Mr. White I was called to the work of the ministry, June 30, 1727, and ordained November 22, following.

[Mr. Weld having continued in the ministry at Attleborough nearly fifty five years, departed this life, suddenly, on the 14th of May, 1782, in the 80th year of his age, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Wilder, the present pastor of the first church in that town.]

COPY OF A LETTER FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE OF VIRGINIA, TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

Chantilly february 5th 1781.

My dear friend

YOUR favour of the 15th past, was duly delivered to me, by my brother, who with my eldest son arrived safely here a few days ago. The many just and excellent observations, with which your letter abounds, I shall reply to hereafter; at present, my design is to be confined chiefly, to the consideration of the cession, made to the United States, by this Commonwealth, at our last session of assembly, of all the country North-West of the river Ohio, which is contained within the charter limits of this country. The country thus yielded, is greater in extent than that which remains to us, between the Ocean, and the Ohio, and in point of climate and soil, it is far preferable—the terms of cession, so far as I can judge are perfectly reasonable.—Notwithstanding this, there are powerful reasons, which I clearly see, will obstruct, if not defeat the acceptation of this cession by Congress. It will be a means of perfecting our Union, by closing the Confederation—and thus our Independency will be secured in a great measure. It will bar the hopes, of some powerful confederated Land jobbers, who have long had in contemplation immense possessions in this ceded country, under pretence of Indian purchases, and other plausible, but no solid titles. It is plain therefore, that personal interest and political views—Toryism, British interest, and Land jobbing views, combine numbers without and within doors, to reject this proffered cession.—The modes and methods, which these artists pursue, are well understood, by the judicious, attentive friends to the Independence of these States—They pretend great friendship and concern for the Independency, the Union, and Confederation of America, but by circuitous means, attack and destroy those things, that are indispensible to those ends. Hitherto the avarice and ambition of Virginia, has prevented Confederation—Now when Virginia, has yielded half, and more than half her Charter claim, the argument will be applied to the terms as improper, and for certain

purposes perhaps it may be said, that the quantity ceded is not enough—in short any thing that can operate the delay and defeat of a measure, calculated to sever us completely from Great Britain, and to preclude the avaritious views of certain Land mongers, will be industriously pressed. But my dear friend, cannot *virtue* for once, be as *active* as *vice*—Can we not by effectual industry, contrive, to have a plan adopted, by which our great bond of Union may be secured—Let me observe here, that our assembly is luckily called again to meet, before our annual dissolution, and if this great business can be considered and determined on by Congress, in season for us, so that we may know the result before the next meeting of assembly passes away, I think that it will greatly conduce to the general good and happiness of the United States—after that, which the uniform friends of America have already done, if they can be happy enough to complete this great bond of union, strength, confidence, and credit, the Confederation, they may reasonably be contented, with the fair prospect, that will then open upon them for future happiness and security. Our assembly is called by the Governor, to meet on the first of next month, and the Session will not be long. Mr.———who drew the bill you mention is at present on a journey up the country, but you may be assured, that my exertions will be applied to get the bill immediately and honourably discharged.

I am dear Sir most sincerely
and affectionately yours
RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Honourable Samuel Adams Esq.
Member of Congress at Philadelphia.

REMARKS ON THE CULTIVATION OF THE OAK.

[The following document was found among the papers of the late General B. Lincoln. It was evidently not intended for publication in its present imperfect state. The remarks are desultory, and in some degree unconnected. The thoughts were probably expressed on paper, as they

occurred, in the midst of the cares and duties of publick business. The subject, to which the remarks refer, *the cultivation of the oak in towns on and near the sea-coast, for the purpose of ship timber, on a conviction of the importance of a navy for maritime protection*, is highly interesting to the people of the northern states. Imperfect as the hints are, it is thought proper to give them to the publick. The mind of General Lincoln was of no ordinary stamp. His views were profound and comprehensive; his sentiments lofty and patriotic. He was anxious for the good of his country and posterity. The present generation, we hope, will profit of his provident and prophetic advice.]

If it is true, that the situation and produce of the United States are friendly to commerce, and that these considerations strongly suggest the importance of laying a foundation in time which shall give support to these ideas, should they, as probably they will, be found interesting to the rising generation and to those who may follow now unborn—To put it in their power to support the fisheries, a source of wealth, and to continue the lucrative business of carrying for themselves the surplus of their own produce to the different markets throughout the commercial world, and returning with such articles in exchange, purchased from the first hand, as shall be for their interest to import: And also to enable them to build and keep up such a naval force, as may be indispensable to the security of their own independence, and their rights as a nation—To secure these blessings to the present and future generations, it is more than time, that we paid attention to planting the *acorn;* from which act to the time the tree will be of sufficient size for ship timber, will require, at least, a period of sixty years; for the growth of oaks, we know, is not rapid. If we reflect on the state of timber sixty years ago in this country, and compare that with the present, we shall be convinced, that the earliest attention should be paid to the planting of acorns, and to the young oaks, many of which might now be saved.

If we take a survey of the northern and eastern states, we shall find that our timber trees are greatly reduced, and quite gone in many parts. In towns near and bordering

on the sea shore, little now can be found within the distance of twenty miles; and it is not uncommon for the builder to send at this day from thirty to forty miles for timber and planks, and the stock fast decreasing, not only from the demand of timber and planks, but from the scarcity of other fuel. The most valuable growing white oaks, from small ones up to a foot diameter, are cut daily into cord wood for the market and private families. In the country generally these trees are cut down, and the land cleared up as fast as it is for the interest of the husbandmen to do it, without regard to the general interest, or without reflecting how or whether a marine can, at some future period, exist. I am perfectly of opinion, that there is little hope these things will change for the better, since the tenure of our land cannot secure them in the family for any distant period. Thus is destroyed one great motive which would lead the grandsire to plant the acorn. He might be induced to the measure, if he could be sure the grand child would reap the fruits of his labours; but of this he cannot be certain; therefore we cannot expect the pleasure of seeing the old man tottering in the field, though aided by his staff, therewith piercing the ground for the reception of the seed. When it is considered what length of time is required for the growth of a timber tree to see it in perfection, and when we compare the present number of timber trees with the number growing fifty years since, sure we cannot be at a loss to pronounce that too little attention has been paid to the subject, and that unless some effectual measures are adopted without farther delay, many of the children now living will feel the improvidency of those of us now on the stage, by being deprived in a great measure, if not wholly, of the means by which they might increase and protect commerce.

We should think it ridiculous, indeed, to hear a man destitute of hands boasting of freedom and independence. Is it not quite as irrational to talk about handing down to our children the blessings we enjoy, while we are daily reducing the streams and suffering the source to dry up under our own eyes, without the least exertions to prevent it? I hope that we shall never consider ourselves as standing on high ground, and as holding a strong position among the

nations of the earth, or suppose that we are handing those blessings down securely to our children, should they be left in a situation so humiliating as to owe the means of support to any foreign nation whatever.

It may be said that we need not be anxious respecting a supply of timber in the United States; that Great Britain has long since been deprived of most of hers, and dependent on the neighbouring nations from whom she had it in her power to obtain a very ample supply. Although this may be true, yet she has notwithstanding, as she would put nothing at the hazard, been careful to cultivate with the utmost assiduity a certain proportion of the island with trees sufficient in all events to keep her navy, that force for which she has been so long distinguished, and which has been so necessary to her own safety. Besides, fortunately for Great Britain, the neighbouring nations had it in their power to supply her.

Where shall the United States look for supplies of ship-timber but within her own borders? If we survey eastward of the District of Maine, on this side of the atlantic, we shall find little or no oak, and that generally of the sour kind, very unfit for building; and what there is between us and the St. Lawrence is the property of a power which needs the whole, and will defend it. To the eastward of St. Lawrence, on the coasts of Labrador, no timber trees grow; that country gives no other than a black growth, and of a small size of spruce, hemlock, &c. Was there any to be obtained from the nation on the south west of us, we should recollect, that if any is procured from that quarter, we are indebted for it to the will of another: one day our wishes may be gratified; the next rejected. After all, we may have it to import under the eye of an enemy, who, when that shall be our unhappy case, may always keep us in a state of servility and dependence.

At present we draw some of the best timber from Georgia; but that source, could we always command it, must soon be exhausted; and it cannot be considered as a national supply, nor is it in a situation to give a confidential one. Was it much more so than it is, the expence of transporting timber to the different parts of the other states in the union would bring our shipping so high, as that

the business would be done even by Europeans, on much better terms than we could do it. So that on the whole, if we are convinced that the succeeding generations will have a demand for shipping, and we cannot point out a source from which they will be able to draw a supply of timber for building, other than by our attention, at this day, to the culture of trees suitable therefor when grown, certainly measures should be taken by us to prevent those evils which must be the consequence of our neglect, if we really wish to hand an inheritance to our posterity free and unembarrassed.

This subject is an important one, and requires attention and encouragement from publick bodies and private men. But what kind of exertions are proper on the part of each, may be more difficult to point out than to discover the necessity that something ought to be done.

Although this may be a task, to which no one may be competent, (I know that I am not,) yet ideas thrown out on the subject from different quarters, when collected, a system may be formed which will remove the objections and convince individuals, that their private interest will be promoted by an adoption thereof.

I beg leave to premise here, that in the towns near the sea, and from which timber may be drawn for our shipping, it will require for this purpose, timber for our buildings and fences, and wood for fuel, about one fourth of the land; for this the rocky, the hilly, and even mountainous should be occupied; on these lands the growth will be less rapid, but more firm; and the timber more durable. For it is a law in nature, that the most rapid productions are not the most durable. And it is highly probable, that in every town, lands may be appropriated for these important ends, which cannot, with like advantages, be otherwise appropriated. There are some thousand acres of land in the town in which I live [Hingham] which will not keep more than one sheep to an acre; and I know that to be the case in some neighbouring towns. These lands, though very rocky, formerly were covered with an excellent growth of valuable oak timber; after that was cut off, these lands, laying common, were fed so closely as to prevent the wood from getting up. The consequence has been, that it is now cov-

ered with bushes on which neither the black cattle nor sheep will feed. Although there is not any fact more easily demonstrated, than that it would be for the interest of the holders of such lands to plant them, without loss of time, with the acorn; yet as the advantage cannot soon be reaped, and as some expence must in the first instance be involved in the measure, people are deterred from adopting it, and do not make the necessary calculations which are indispensable to a right judgment in the matter.

These lands are worth in their present state, (most of them being fenced) about seven dollars an acre. It will cost three dollars more an acre to seed them. The interest of that sum for four years, (the term that the sheep and all cattle must be kept out) two dollars and forty cents; so that the land at the term you may feed again will amount to twelve dollars and forty cents; allowing that keeping of the sheep as formerly, paid the interest of seven dollars an acre, then the owner is to look for the annual interest of five dollars and forty cents, for money expended in planting, and for the interest of the whole during the term the sheep were kept out for a reimbursement of the interest on this sum, about thirty two cents; which added to the principal, at the end of sixteen years, at which time the trees will be twenty years old, the land will amount to seventeen dollars an acre. The acorn should be planted six feet one from the other, each allowed to occupy thirty six square feet of ground. This division will give twelve hundred trees on each acre. After the expiration of twenty years, you may begin to cut and thin the tops; and may take out the full value of your interest money ever after, if proper attention is paid to the grove. No cattle or sheep may ever after be admitted to feed in it. Swine may be turned in at Autumn to receive the acorns. In thinning the wood, great care should be taken to leave the most healthy and vigorous trees. Those so chosen and left for timber should be at the distance, at least, of twenty feet one from the other. The intermedi te spaces may be always kept full to be cut for fuel, as it may be needed. The stock will be kept good; for many will spring up around the stump of one tree cut down, if no cattle are suffered to browse on them. From the larger trees being so

ly dispersed, they will, if not cut, become large ; and
e soil is strong be fit for any use. Care must howev-
e always taken, that when one of these are removed,
her must be chosen to supply its place. After fifty
s, one hundred acres of land, so covered with wood
timber, may be justly considered as a source of wealth,
cially if near the shores, or large trading towns.
ıch attention has been paid to the growth of oaks in
ıt Britain, that they are brought to such an enormous
as many years since to be worth fifty pounds sterling
e.
'e suffer exceedingly at this day by the ill judged poli-
f permitting the cattle to run at large in the woods, es-
lly in the full settled towns. Those tracts reserved
uilding, timber, fencing-stuff, and fuel, are constantly
ing, and many of them are ruined as wood land, there
› large a proportion of cattle turned out, compared with
›lants which come up in the spring, and the shoots
h appear around the stumps of trees fallen the year be-
—Cattle never will eat the twigs of the branches while
can find any of these delicate and succulent plants just
ıg up, on which they can feed. The growth of these
s are too important to the publick to have them so wan-
destroyed, as in most places they now are at this day.
fully in opinion, that in the old cleared towns, the
attle fed in the woods are more expensive and injuri-
› the common interest, than if lands were ploughed,
rain sowed, on which they might feed. Few cattle
n the woods in the old towns ; but enough to keep
atural growth of the wood in all places in check, and
me to the total destruction of it.
:now that it may be said, and probably will be, that an
estraining cattle from running at large in the woods,
l be depriving the poor of a benefit which they now
. The poor must certainly be attended to and pro-
l ; but if they must be a publick burden, in the name
›mmon justice, let us, in doing this, duly consult all
›conomy in our power which shall be consistent with
mplete discharge of a duty so incumbent. Had a
ure of this kind been adopted fifty years ago, we

should at this hour, I am confident, have had large tracts of good wood and timber lands, now lying in brush.

Ideas of immediate profits urge mankind on to prompt and constant exertions; while looking forward to a distant period for the enjoyment of the fruit of their labours begets in them inactivity and langour. Nor is this all: they are now invited to a measure untried by them or their fathers; and we find from every day's experience how hard it is to lead men off from their old habits, and to engage them to enter on new pursuits with confidence. Grounds untrodden will be entered with caution; and if to explore them becomes interesting to the publick, it is expected that they should give support to the attempt.

[The following portion of this ecclesiastical history is published from a first copy; not having received the last corrections of its author, the Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D.]

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Continued from Vol. X. p. 37.

Account of the THIRD SYNOD *in the colony of Massachusetts Bay; of the proceedings of the government with regard to the Baptists and Quakers.*

THE synod, which assembled in Boston, 1662, was the *third* assembly of this sort, called by the publick authority. The first met at Newtown, soon after named Cambridge; the result of which was a censure upon the antinomian or familistical errours then spreading through the plantations. Among the worthies, who constituted this ecclesiastical body, were governors Winthrop and Dudley, men of renown in their times, and who have been honoured by succeeding generations. Sir Henry Vane, governor the year preceding, led the people who were opposed to the opinions generally accounted orthodox. Mr. Wheelright, among the ministers, was the preacher who excited the most commotion; but it was said, that Mr. Cotton had

given his name and influence to the party. The effects, which the result of this synod had upon the community, are described in a former part of this history. Eighty-two opinions were declared to be heretical.

The second synod met at Cambridge in 1646, and adjourned to September 30, 1648.

Notwithstanding the zeal which so many wise and judicious men had shown for the faith delivered to the saints, yet the churches had no uniform scheme of discipline. A bill was therefore introduced into the General Court for calling a synod, which should devise a plan or platform of church government. Upon this occasion a dispute of a peculiar nature arose, which may excite surprise to people not much acquainted with the affairs of this country; but will cause no astonishment in the minds of those who know the character of our fathers, and the republican sentiments which then prevailed in church and state.

The deputies of the several congregations would not yield such a power to the civil magistrate, as they assumed by calling a synod. They were jealous, that such a power in the hands of the legislature might afterwards be exerted, to impose upon the churches a *uniformity of practice in things, which the Author of our religion had made indifferent;* but the magistrates urged, that it was the province of the General Court to encourage truth and peace among the people; and allowing, that the determinations of the synod were only to be proposed to the churches, by way of advice and counsel, and not as an injunction, there could be no ground for their jealousy or fears. The business was delayed, some time, on account of this difference; but at length a compromise was made. The court consented, that "their order, directed to the several churches for sending their delegates, should be drawn up in the form of a motion, and not of command." All were satisfied with this, except the people in Boston. They were influenced, in a great measure, by the opinion of Mr. Cotton, who was himself not more jealous of the authority of government, than others were of his introducing the power of the New England priesthood. When the order of the court was read to this church, no vote could be obtained to send del-

egates to the synod; yet the clause in the order of court was only this, "What should be presented to th by the synod they would give such allowance to, as sho be meet." If the opposition of the Boston church p ceeded from a love of religious freedom, we must co mend their zeal, though we do not favour or appr their religious scruples. If it sprung from party spi and a fear, that the laity should have a voice in ecclesia cal affairs, which the teacher of this church manifes in his other writings, they have less credit for their op sition. Mr. Williams of Salem was not alone in s ing, that Mr. Cotton wished to be high priest, or that acted like one in some respects, and thought that his op ion should be decisive, even in the civil affairs of the c ony.

In the midst of this dispute Mr. Norton visited Bost He was one of the most popular ministers in the colo and very impressive in the pulpit. The arguments of sermon which he preached at the Thursday lecture, had desired effect. It convinced the Boston church, that th were wrong. They gave up their opposition, and agr to send their teacher, and three others, as messengers to synod.

This synod, it was observed, assembled in Cambrid towards the close of 1646, and adjourned from time time, until the 30th September, 1648, when they had a co plete session for business.

The *third* synod, called A. D. 1662, was held in Bost The cause of its convening, as we learn from the writer that period, was a question concerning the subjects of b tism. The platform of CHURCH DISCIPLINE, compris the constitution of the churches, did not embrace this su ject so fully, as to suit different periods of the settleme Some particular points, concerning the continuation a combination of churches, needed a more explicit stateme By the care and wisdom of the General Court this beca not only the subject of discussion, but was settled to g eral satisfaction, and introduced more religious freedo than had been before known in the colony. Individu supposed such latitude in things of religion not consist with the order of the gospel. The majority of the sy

however supposed, "they stood perfect and complete in the will of God." "To the law and the testimony," said they, "we do wholly refer ourselves; and, if any thing be found contrary, let it be rejected."

To the first question of the General Court, *who are the subjects of baptism?*

Their answer was, 1. "*That the members of the visible church are the subjects of baptism.*"

2. "The members of the visible church, according to scripture, are confederate visible believers, in particular churches, and their infant seed, i. e. children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant."

3. "The infant seed of confederate visible believers are members of the same church with their parents, and, when grown up, are personally under the watch, discipline, and government of the church."

4. "These adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications, as the word of God requireth thereunto."

5. "Church members, who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publickly professing their assent thereunto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give themselves up and their children to the Lord; and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized."

6. "Such church members, as by death, or some extraordinary providence, have been inevitably hindered from publickly acting as aforesaid, yet have given the church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them, as so qualified; and such, as had they been called thereunto, would have so acted; their children are to be baptized."

7. "The members of orthodox churches being sound in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof, these occasionally coming from one church, to another, may have their children baptized in the church, whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches; but, if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, where they settle their abode,

and so their children to be baptized. It being the church's duty to receive such unto communion, so far as they are regularly fitted for the same."

These several propositions, after a very complete discussion, were adopted and confirmed by the synod of Boston. Every proposition, being printed in the result, was accompanied, as proofs from scripture, with a great variety of texts, which have been often quoted by those, who have engaged in the dispute concerning baptism. For the question which divided the churches at that time, has been the subject of many controversies since, and volumes have been published without giving that satisfaction to inquiring minds, which is necessary to establish a uniform practice.

The second question brought before the synod, was, *Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?*

The answer is in the following propositions;

1. "Every church, or particular congregation of visible saints in gospel order, being furnished with a presbytery, at least with a teaching elder, and walking together in truth and peace, hath received of the Lord Jesus full power and authority, ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever."

2. "The churches of Christ do stand in a sisterly relation to each other, being united in the same faith and order, to walk by the same rule, in the exercise of the same ordinances, for the same end; under one and the same political head, the Lord Jesus Christ, which union supposes or infers a communion suitable thereunto."

3. "Communion of churches is the faithful improvement of the gifts of Christ bestowed upon them for his service and glory, and their mutual good and edification, according to capacity and opportunity."

4. "Acts of communion of churches are such as these. 1. Hearty care and prayer for one another. 2. To afford relief by communication of their gifts in temporal or spiritual necessities. 3. To maintain unity and peace, by giving account of their publick actions, when it is orderly desired; and to strengthen one another in their regular administrations, as in special, by a concurrent testimony against persons justly censured."

4. "To seek help from and give help to each other in livisions and contentions, whereby the peace of the church s disturbed; in matters of more than ordinary importance, s ordination, translation, and deposition of elders, and such ike; in doubtful and difficult questions and controversies, loctrinal and practical; also for the rectifying of mal-administrations, and healing of errours and scandals, that are nhealed among themselves; in love and faithfulness to ake notice of the troubles and difficulties, errours and scanlals of another church, and to administer help (when the ase manifestly calls for it) though they should so neglect heir own good and duty, as not to seek it. To admonish ne another, when there is need or cause for it, and after lue means with patience used, to withdraw from a church, r peccant part of it, obstinately persisting in errour or candal, as the platform directs."

5. "Consociation of churches is their solemn and mutual greement to exercise communion in such acts as aforesaid, mong themselves, with special reference to those churchs, as by providence are planted in a convenient vicinity, hough with liberty received without offence to make use f others, as the nature of the case, or advantage of opporunity may lead unto."

6. "The churches of Christ of this country, having so ood an opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended un- o them, as their duty thus to consociate."

7. "The manner of the churches' agreement herein, or enering into this consociation, may be by each church's openy consenting unto the things here declared, in answer to the id question; as also what is said thereon in chap. 15, 16, f the platform of discipline, in reference to other churches n this colony and country."

8. "The manner of exercising and practising this communion, which their agreement and consent especially tend- th thereunto, may be by making use of elders, or able nen of other churches, or by the more solemn meetings of oth elders and messengers in lesser or greater counsels, as he matter shall require."

Every proposition here mentioned is also confirmed by exts of scripture; but they are taken chiefly from the Old Testament, as the sentiments of baptism were supported by exts from the apostolick writings.

From the result of this synod we have a very complete view of the discipline of Congregational churches, or, as some have styled them, *New England churches;* for this kind of discipline and communion is almost peculiar to New England.

The fathers of Massachusetts had very different ideas of church government from the settlers at Plymouth; some of whom had been Brownists, though convinced of their errours, before they left Leyden. But after this synod had finished their result, the churches in the old colony and the churches in the other state coalesced in their opinion. The Congregational mode differed from the Brownists, because it gave authority to the pastor or teacher. It was not allowed for the brethren to preach or to administer ordinances. It differed from the Independents, because it held a communion of churches, of which they were jealous, lest it should lead to classes and to a priestly government. But it resembled Independency in this, that every christian society constitutes a complete church within itself, with power to establish regulations for the conduct of its affairs, "so that the same be not contrary to the word of God; and to revise, alter, and amend them, as may appear to be needful."

It is very different from the Presbyterian government; because, as it will not admit of classes, presbyteries, &c. and also in this just and liberal sentiment, "The New Testament doth not prescribe any one form of government in such a manner, as to render any other form unlawful." They, who adhere to the solemn league and covenant make the converse of this an article of their belief, as well as they who hold the divine right of episcopacy. If men, fond of ecclesiastical dominion, think a democratick spirit governs our churches, may not Independent churches describe the various efforts of bigotry which have been made to support the divine rights of episcopacy and presbyterianism?

In favour of our liberality in ecclesiastical affairs, we may bring such reasons, as have been frequently offered, that the scriptural directions concerning ministers are equally applicable to the several denominations of christians, and the exhortations and rules concerning the establishment and order of church government are sufficient to correct the

abuses to which all forms are liable.* Such a liberty with regard to the forms of church government, is agreeable to the genius of the christian dispensation.

The result of the synod, which is the subject of the present notice, was considered by the legislature of the colony, as a system of just rules and directions for the churches, as appears by their resolve.

At the General Court held in Boston, New England, the eighth of October, 1662;

"The court having read over the result of the synod, "judge meet to recommend the same to the consideration "of all the churches and people of the jurisdiction, and for "this end do order the printing thereof."

The influence of the political fathers of the colony, and of the majority of the clergy, doubtless had great effect in establishing peace and good order in the churches; but it could not quell opposition. A very great innovation was made by admitting to baptism, the children of those, who did not partake of the Lord's supper. A protest was made by some of the most eminent characters in this ecclesiastical body; ministers, whose praise was in all the churches. President Chauncy spoke, and protested, and wrote against the proceedings of the synod. He had been famous in his own country for his learning, piety, and energy of character. He was therefore a star of the first magnitude in this hemisphere.

Mr. Davenport, of New Haven, was also a writer in the controversy; a man who would have adorned any age of the church, by his knowledge and virtue. To them was added a young man, who exhibited a dawn of genius, which raised the hopes of his friends; nor were these hopes disap-

* By comparing incidental passages in the journeying of Paul, with the information collected from his epistles, we may form a conception of the plan of government which he established in some churches. But the book of Acts doth not enable us to follow that apostle through his whole progress; and of what was done by other apostles, who visited different quarters of the world, scripture gives little information, and ancient writers speak uncertainly. Our knowledge only extends to one apostle. But we draw a conclusion, which the premises no ways warrant, when we infer, that what was done by *one* apostle in planting churches, was done by all the apostles in planting all the churches. The presumption is, that instead of following one uniform course, they would, in every city, accommodate their establishments for the edification of their converts, and the future increase of believers; the numbers of those whom they had added to the church, to the population of the city, and to the qualification of the different offices which persons possessed; and that they would have many things to be settled, as future occasions should require."
Hill on the Constitution of the Church of Scotland.

pointed, when they beheld its meridian lustre. This was Mr. Increase Mather, afterwards President of Harvard College, and agent from the province to the court of Great Britain.

To manage the controversy with such men more than common abilities and learning were required; but men were to be found equal to it among the divines of Massachusetts, scholars who had been eminent in the universities of Europe, but who preferred to be ministers of Christ in this wilderness, where they could maintain their integrity, to any literary distinctions, or gorgeous appearance in their own country, where they could not be virtuous and happy.

Mr. Allen, the first minister of the church gathered at Dedham, made a very able reply to *the Antisynodalia* of President Chauncy. Mr. Richard Mather, pastor of the church at Dorchester, was requested to answer Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Mitchel, of Cambridge, entered the lists in a controversy with Mr. I. Mather of Boston; but we shall give a more particular account of this theological dispute in the following pages.

It is one main design of the writer of this ecclesiastical history, to give a view of all the controversies which have agitated the churches, since the settlement of the country. This may serve as an apology for his being so minute in relating the affairs of this third synod of Massachusetts; also those things which were combined with, or consequent upon the result. The polemick writings it occasioned, though not without acrimony, were less bitter, than disputes among divines commonly are, when they engage with religious zeal, and their darling prejudices operate.

The result of the Boston synod involved in it the most important consequences. It made a complete alteration in the practice and discipline of the churches through the land. It gave a latitude to people upon the subject of baptism, which the first settlers either did not comprehend, or thought inconsistent with the purity of christian ordinances. But the times were altered, and it was necessary, they thought, to change with them. The first planters were all church members, and, from a kind of religious sympathy, all who settled with them became christian communicants, as a part of their duty. They could not hold an office in

the commonwealth, except they partook of the Lord's supper. Hence many, without understanding the nature of the service required of them, became professors, perhaps from political motives, and affected to be serious. But after thirty years had elapsed, a numerous progeny arose, and some, by exercising their minds, held different opinions, or were under a certain influence from their apprehensions and fears. Multitudes of well disposed persons were ready to own Christ as their Saviour, to renew their covenant, (according to the expression of our churches,) who could not come up to that "experimental account of regeneration, which every church then required of them, before they could gain access to the Lord's table."

"Now to make no ecclesiastical difference," to use the words of Dr. Cotton Mather, "between these hopeful candidates and competants for the eucharist, and pagans, who might happen to hear the *word of God* in our assemblies, was judged an unwarrantable strictness, which would quickly abandon the country unto circumstances by no means to be wished for. But, on the other side, it was feared, that if all those, who had not exposed themselves by censurable scandals found upon them, should be admitted to all the privileges in our churches, a worldly generation of men might arise before we are aware, carry all things into such a course of proceeding, as would be too disagreeable to the kingdom of heaven, which our church is to represent in the world." But a remark ought not to be omitted which Mr. Neal makes, in his history of New England. "I confess it looks like an odd assertion to me, to call a person a member of a church, who has no right to its privileges, and yet remains exposed to its censures."

Others have said, that Mr. Davenport's book hath overthrown the propositions of the synod, according to their own principles. But they approve not his judgment, or his reasoning, upon the whole. They would have a greater latitude. Among the liberal clergy, as some call them, all the children of baptized persons enjoyed this privilege; and among those who worshipped according to the strictest sect of the first reformers, were Dr. Owen and Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who assert, "that the seed of the faithful are the subjects of baptism, whether their parents are

confederated in particular churches or not." Neither of these opinions have been established to complete satisfaction, as we may judge from the variety of schemes which are still supported by divines in their writings.

The controversy was commenced by the New England divines in 1662, with a work of Mr. Chauncy, which he styled *Antisynodalia Americana.* Whatever this great man did was with energy and spirit, as well as knowledge; and this certainly was a very learned performance.

Mr. Allen of Dedham, who, as we before observed, made a reply to Mr. Chauncy's book, was a judicious and sensible writer in the opinion of his contemporaries. He was a "courteous man," and his writings were an exhibition of his temper. Such men often find great advantage in a disputation; being cool and collected, they see where they can make the best attack, and how they can guard themselves from committing errours.

These worthy men did not continue the controversy, after having made the first efforts to gain the publick opinion; but it was carried on by Mr. Davenport, and Mr. R. Mather of Dorchester. Both these gentlemen had written largely upon church government, and were leading characters in each colony. In the synod of 1648, Mr. M. was one of the three, who were chosen to draw up a plan of church discipline. The opinion has descended through the medium of the family, that the platform, so long in use, though now grown obsolete, was chiefly composed by him. His answer to Mr. Davenport was doubtless an able discussion, and as liberal as it was masterly. We have the opinion of Mr. Higginson of Salem, who says, that in this book "he shewed himself a pattern to all the answerers, to the end of the world."

Mr. Davenport entitled his book, in opposition to the synod, "*Another Essay for Investigation of Truth.*"

Mr. Mather's was entitled, "*A Defence of the Answer, &c. of the Synod, &c.*

The controversial writings would perhaps have ended here, had not Mr. Davenport printed in his book an apologetical preface, written by the Rev. Mr. Mather of Boston, a young man who was willing to enter the lists against his own father. Whether this was a zeal for the truth, or a desire to show his talents, in either case he needed an apology;

ıe might have left the business to those famous men, appeared fully equal to manage it on both sides. If he : eager to appear with the authors upon this subject, he found that a young man of superior powers of mind able to bring him to a proper view of himself.

[r. Mitchel of Cambridge was requested to answer Mr. her's *apologetical preface*, which he did, in such a mas- way, that his antagonist was brought over to his opin-

An abridgement of the arguments used in this con- ersy, both by the apologist and his opponent, is exhib- in the *Magnalia Americana*, composed by Dr. Cotton her, who never misses the opportunity of describing visdom, or the admirable talents of Mr. Mitchel.* In Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather, which he published A.D. 1, he says, "that in this dispute he not only surrender- imself a glad captive to the truth so gloriously cleared, ch Mr. M. had the unspeakable satisfaction to know re he died,) but also obliged the church of God, by pub- ng unto the world a couple of unanswerable treatises efence of the synodical propositions, in which he ex- ses very much of his inexpressible value for his excel- opponent and conqueror. He more than once, in this his other writings, styles his friend, "the MATCHLESS TCHEL."

[e also gives this advice to those, who protested against result of the synod, that they should be less jealous of brethren, and not to dread the bad consequences which had asserted would follow the alteration made in the :tice of the churches. "Brethren I was once of your uasion; but study, and prayer, and much affliction, has ught me to be of another belief than what I was." The

*He was born at Halifax, Berkshire, in 1624, and came over to this country with ther in the year 1635, and was educated at Harvard College. He was one of est scholars, while a student of that seminary, and received the honours of it in His genius was so great, that in a few years he was one of the most celebrated hers in the colony. Equally learned, pious and eloquent, he discovered a mind elevated and serious cast. His style and conversation was distinguished by great ur of sentiment. He was equally remarkable for moderation and dignity of ieter, as we may judge from the opinion of the famous Richard Baxter, who if there was an œcumenical council of the whole christian world *to be held, Mr. hel was worthy to be moderator of it.* It was a proof of the high sense entertained i acquirements and virtues, that he was chosen pastor of the church of Cambridge, i he was to succeed such eminent men as Hooker and Shepard. His diligence pplication were equal to the powers of his mind, and he gained equal credit for xemplary holiness and catholick charity. The students of the college beheld with equal admiration and love. But he was cut off in the midst of his life and lness. He was seized with a malignant disorder just after he had left the pulpit, ig ministered to the church at Cambridge 18 years; and he died July 9, 1668.*

sentiments he imbibed after thinking and writing so much upon the subject were these ;

" We are to distinguish a particular church, as it is more strictly taken for a particular corporation of covenanting believers, entrusted by our Lord with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and as it is more largely taken from that special part of our Lord's visible church, which doth subsist in this or that particular place ; and that a membership of the catholick church discovered by a relation to a particular church, not in the former but in the latter case, is the formal claim to baptism ; and so the qualifications in the 5th proposition give a right to it."

What is here related is from the Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather, published after his death. In his church history, published twenty years before, Dr. C. Mather had thus introduced the subject, paying a tribute to the merit of his father's character ;

" If the apologist were one who so signalized a modest sense of second thoughts, it can be reckoned no disparagement to him ; until the *humility* of *Austin* in his *retractations*, or the *ingenuity* of *Bellarmine* in his *recognitions*, come to be accounted blemishes ; or until *Bucers*, yea, and *Luthers*, change their opinions about consubstantiation, and the recovery of Zuinglius from inclinations to antipedobaptism shall be esteemed the disgrace of these renowned men ; or until Mr. Robinson be blamed for composing his weighty arguments against the *rigid* separation, which once he had zealously defended. In fine, I will, upon this occasion, apply the words of the famous Dr. Owen, to the froward Mr. *Cawdry*, to take off the charge of inconstancy laid upon him for his appearing in behalf of the Congregational church discipline ; " *He that can glory, that in fourteen years he hath not altered, or improved his conceptions of some things of no greater importance than these mentioned, shall not have me for his rival.*"

Amidst the opposition that was made to the synod's result, the different opinions entertained by some churches, and the difference of individuals, in the same church, where the majority preferred the alteration prescribed ; the New England churches were nearly uniform in their practice, to baptize the children of all, who were ready to make

a publick profession of religion, without requiring them to partake of the Lord's supper. The parents were required, however, to submit themselves to the discipline of the church, where the children were baptized, and to study the subject till their doubts were removed, which, at the time of improving one ordinance, prevented them from enjoying the other.

This practice of the churches continued till the present generation, with a few exceptions; but, of late years, the people in many parts of the country, have returned back to the primitive mode of New England, the consequence of which is, that multitudes of the present generation, beside those who believe, that baptism of adults only was performed by the apostles, have never had their names recorded with the members of the visible church; and there is, also, a growing indifference towards it, in our Congregational churches.

It was not to be supposed that every member of the assembly agreed with the synod, which established the platform, A. D. 1648; but when it was presented, all the churches received it, yet succeeding generations did not conform to it.*

The other question of the consociation of the churches was answered to the satisfaction of the people and ministers at large. Very little dispute was made till a few years preceding the revolution of these States, when a question arose concerning the right "a particular church may have to dismiss their minister." This was the subject of controversy in one of the counties of Massachusetts: it excited great uneasiness in the neighbourhood, introduced law-suits, caused contentions, divisions among christians, breaches in churches; such unhappy strifes and animosities as were inconsistent with that piety and virtue which good men ought to exhibit, and with that peace and charity which the precepts of the gospel recommends, or the spirit of it inspires.

A particular account of all the proceedings will be given.

The rise of the Baptists in Massachusetts is thus described by one of the fathers, an early historian of the country.†

"But as some were studying how baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful, in their

* Note, Neil, page 398. † Hubbard.

several generations, there were others as studious to d
prive all unadult children thereof, and restrain the privile
only to adult believers." A society it seems had be
formed, and did administer the ordinances in a manner whi
they thought agreeable to the scriptures. Some of the
had been "excommunicated from other churches," b
whether for their principles, or any immoral practices, is n
handed down. It is most likely that they absented ther
selves from the Congregational churches. This was co
sidered as "not walking in the order of the gospel. Henc
because they did *not* attend, they were suspended, and r
ceived the sentence of excommunication. In like manne
the Baptist churches have since proceeded. An admoniti
was sent to the assembly of the Antipœdobaptists, whi
appeared to dissolve their meeting; but they continued
assemble themselves together after they were warned
forbear. A sentence was then passed upon them, that th
should be disfranchised, if they were freemen; and if th
obstinately continued in their practice, they should be con
mitted to prison, upon conviction before one magistrat
or the county court, until the pleasure of the General Cou
could be known. By this severity it was expected th
progress of the society would be retarded; but it prove
otherwise, as a very little knowledge of human natu
would have taught those statesmen and divines, who acte
less like christians, than like partizans of an *establish*
church, ready to destroy the dissenting interest. The pri
ciples of toleration were also better known than they ha
been, when the church of England first set their faces again
the puritans. But in every place the cry of oppression ha
been heard, and in every country, and in every denomin
tion of christians, we have found inconsistent people.

Such observations will again occur, when we conside
how other sects and denominations have been treated
Massachusetts, especially from the accounts, which th
Quakers give of their persecution.

The Baptists had just reason to complain, but their su
ferings were less; nor doth their history make so prom
nent a part of our ecclesiastical affairs during the centu
in which they first appeared.

Mr. Hubbard divides his history into so many *lustres* of years. This word, now almost obsolete in the English language, is a translation of lustrum, a Latin term for five years.

From the year 1657 to the year 1662, when the result of the third synod was publickly declared, much important matter occurs for ecclesiastical research. Severe laws were made against the Baptists, and against the Quakers; such as manifested the spirit, if not the rage of persecution. On the other hand, there was a degree of religious liberty manifested, which was encouraged by the very Court, that would have deprived others of their mode of worship.

Our early historians wrote under the influence of strong prejudices against those, who set up in opposition to the authority of government, or to the order of the churches. The writers on the side of the separation have also given a view of the publick proceedings, with expressions of resentment, and prejudices equally strong. We ought, and we have endeavoured, to collect facts, to compare the various accounts, and to make remarks with equal justice and candour. In this age of free enquiry, if any bias be upon the mind, it is certainly in favour of toleration.

Those persons, who were banished from Massachusetts, on account of antinomian errours, planted a new colony,* with such religious privileges, as no other people ever enjoyed. Each man thought for himself, and every gifted brother was qualified for a teacher. They agreed "to be governed by the perfect laws of Christ, as a body politick." They met together, as a body of freemen, January 2, 1639, and chose a judge, "who, together with the elders, should rule and govern, according to the general rules of the word of God, when they had no particular rule from God's word, by the body prescribed as a direction to them in that case." They changed their government afterwards; and they worshipped according to the mode which their favourite teacher adopted.

In 1639, Mr. Williams was baptized by one of his brethren, and then he baptized ten more. Soon after, he would not administer any ordinance, giving as a reason, "that as sacrifices and other acts of worship were omitted by the people, while the temple lay in ruins, and that they were

* Rhode Island.

restored again, by the immediate inspiration of heaven, so that such direction was necessary, to restore the ordinances of baptism and the supper, since the desolation of the church, in mystical Babylon."*

The church at Providence, which he had planted, continued, however, to administer the ordinance of baptism to adults. Mr. Thomas Olney was chosen pastor, who lived beyond the period of our present research.

In 1644, Mr. John Clark formed a church of Baptists at Newport. As many went over to the opinion, and this sect increased, and were spreading over the colony, the governors of Massachusetts Bay were alarmed; and to prevent the progress of it among them, they made a law, which was dated November 13, 1644.

"Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about 100 years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errours or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other heretics use to do) concealed the same till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple, &c. &c.; it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be *sentenced to banishment.*"†

Mr. Callender's century sermon comprises a very accurate history of the Baptists in this country. No writer exhibits a fairer mind, or greater love of truth.

* These instances of the eccentricities of this extraordinary man, are taken from governor Winthrop, and his own writings, not from any accounts of later authors, who were prejudiced against him.

† Massachusetts Records.

MEMOIR TOWARDS A CHARACTER OF REVEREND JOHN ELIOT, S. T. D.

BIOGRAPHY should be strictly regulated by the laws of truth and justice. When publick gratitude pours forth its acknowledgments, over the remains of a nation's ornament and benefactor; or when private affection vents its sorrows, at the departure of an endeared friend; some allowance may be made, some licence given, for panegyric. But history should be the record of fact, and the expression of the writer's deliberate judgment.

The subject of the present sketch really possessed such intellectual powers and attainments, as well as religious, moral, and social excellence, that the simple narrative of truth would be sufficient eulogy. The measure of praise, which justice might warrant, must be qualified by what is believed and known to have been his opinion respecting notices of the dead. His elevated principles of integrity concurred with the correctness of his taste, in opposing all extravagance of commendation. His testimonials respecting others, were governed by as scrupulous regard to veracity, as if they had been in the form of legal testimony, and under the sanction of an oath. They were faithfully copied from certain knowledge of events, or full conviction of the real character. The same purpose and resolution shall guide this feeble tribute; though it cannot possess that discriminating exactness of colouring, and graceful ease of delineation, which appropriately distinguish the portraits he has left. [A.]

John Eliot was born, in Boston, 31 May, 1754; the fourth son, seventh child, of Rev. Dr. Andrew and Mrs. Elizabeth Eliot. [B.]

From earliest years he manifested such amiable dispositions, and displayed such mild and agreeable manners, that he became specially endeared to his connections; and excited peculiar interest among the friends and acquaintance of his family. He discovered too, such powers of mind and eagerness for improving them, as excited the fondest hopes and confident expectations of his future distinction

and usefulness, if his life should be spared. His habit of body was slender; his health was so delicate and so frequently interrupted, that no little solicitude blended with the affection which his virtues and talents inspired in the domestic circle. By the favour of providence the tender plant was not cut down; and the attention, with which it was nurtured, was prospered to its acquiring vigour, and expanding to maturity.

Blessed, in a peculiar measure, with pious and judicious parents; with a father of distinguished ability, zeal, and fidelity, with a mother of the tenderest kindness, united with the most discreet and skilful care; his moral and intellectual powers, were developed and guided with happiest success. The religious principles in which he was instructed, the serious impressions made upon his ingenuous mind, by these wise counsellors and exemplary guardians, seem to have acquired a fixed and habitual dominion over him. The law of conscience and of scripture, which evidently governed the man, it is said, influenced and controlled the youth. He appeared to maintain a constant sense of his accountability; to cultivate a spirit of devotion, as well as observe the rules of virtue; to be actuated not only by filial duty to his earthly parents, but by a realizing sense that he was a child of God, a candidate for eternity. To this early religious and moral culture, may be ascribed much of the self command, the suavity of temper, the benevolent and liberal spirit, for which through life he was justly distinguished. Of the remarkable amenity of disposition and correctness of behaviour, which marked his juvenile character, a good judge, under whose care he passed the latter portion of his pupilage, previous to entering college, has borne a most feeling and emphatical testimony. "Even at that early season, he *never did any thing wrong.*"

At the age of seven years he was placed at the North Grammar School, in Boston, where he was prepared, under the parental eye, for the University at Cambridge; into which he was admitted, 1768. [C.]

His deportment and application, while at this ancient seat of learning, secured the warmest approbation of his instructers; while his sweetness of temper and warmth of heart attracted the esteem and love of his associates. The attachments which

he formed at this susceptible period, and a few subsequent years, were approved by his after reflection. They were founded on wisdom, and cemented by virtue. Some of them death had levelled; several others, strengthened by duration and consecrated by piety, continued to life's latest hour, the objects of fond and cheering contemplation.

Although he passed through the course of collegiate instruction at so early an age; yet as his mind was well fortified by principle, and his character established in rectitude, he was prepared to meet its trials uninjured, to improve its opportunities to best advantage. Happily he duly appreciated the importance of the means he then enjoyed for getting wisdom: still more happily, he had that godly abhorrence of sin, that love of goodness, that reverence for religion, which are the best safeguards of innocence. He came forth from this little world of discipline and hazard, not only with unsullied, but with eminent reputation for propriety of manners, purity of morals, and substantial piety. He had acquired too, such literary distinction, that he received from the authority the well-earned meed of praise, "DETUR DIGNIORI:" and he was graduated, with the highest honours of the class. [D.]

From college, he removed to Roxbury, and was for one year master of the "Feoffee-Grammar-School." In the same useful and interesting employment, he passed several months of the following winter, in the town school at Dedham. Some of those who had the benefit of his instructions testify, that he exemplified his own views, of the duties of a teacher, as expressed in a notice of one of his respected predecessors. "No office is more important, and none requires more peculiar qualifications, if, instead of considering the routine of school exercises all that is needful, the preceptor esteems it his duty to impress the tender mind with a sense of divine things; to fix moral sentiments, and mingle lessons upon decorum of manners with other instructions."*

The second year, after he had received the honours of College, he returned to Cambridge, and commenced more actively his professional studies. He was a resident there,

* Sermon before the New North Society upon the completion of their house of worship, 2 May, 1804. p. 17. Note on Reverend Mr. John Webb.

until the army took possession of the students' rooms, with their contents, in the spring vacation of 1775. On his endeavouring to recover the property which was in his chamber, some violent partizans endeavoured to excite suspicion of his too great attachment to the mother country. In the language of that day of terrour, he was termed, by a few uneasy spirits, "a tory." While at Roxbury, he had been intimate in the family of Isaac Winslow, Esquire, a decided and warm friend to the government. His attachment to this worthy man, led to an acquaintance with many of similar political principles in Cambridge, and elsewhere. His discriminating judgment and liberal mind could perceive and would acknowledge the intellectual and moral worth of many of these excellent characters, though he might not approve all their opinions.

For nearly a year, he was in no settled place of abode. A part of the time was passed at Milton; and some months at Braintree, [now Quincy,] with the late Honourable Richard Cranch. For this excellent man, and his amiable partner, he, with all who knew them, cherished warm affection and profound esteem. He never spoke of them but with delighted and grateful sensibility; and they appeared to reciprocate his fond attachment. He also paid several visits, during this and the preceding season, to the late Reverend Jeremy Belknap, D. D. then minister at Dover, N. Hampshire.

The marriage of this gentleman with one of his relatives had led to particular intimacy, which soon grew to the strongest and most ardent friendship. In many respects their talents and taste were congenial; both were especially fond of historical and biographical researches. They were mutual helpers of each others' inquiries and labours, in different portions of this extensive and fertile field. Their respect and attachment grew with their advancing years: and when Doctor Belknap was removed to Boston, they were favoured with opportunities for co-operating in their useful labours, and of deriving assistance one from the other, which each thought the most precious that could have been enjoyed.

The death of this learned divine and accomplished scholar* was a deprivation, the overwhelming shock of

* 20th June, 1798.

which, his friend most sensibly felt; and indeed from which he never seemed to have wholly recovered.

In the latter part of 1775, or the beginning of 1776, he preached, for the first time, at Dover, in the pulpit of his valued kinsman and friend. He had become a member, 4 June preceding, of the first church in Dedham, under the pastoral care of Reverend Jason Haven, with whom he had resided the previous winter.

Although his plans of study were interrupted by the unhappy event of the war, and his arrangements defeated, as to the place and means of pursuing his professional inquiries; yet a mind active, indefatigable, and reflecting, like his, was not to be diverted from a great object, or materially affected in its pursuits, by any discouragements. Wherever he was, he availed himself of the books and the society to which he had access, to store his understanding with important truths, and to acquire a knowledge of mankind. With such intellectual men as CRANCH and BELKNAP, he must ever have delighted to hold communion. His own powers were called into active exercise, and animation was given to his course of reading and reflection. Thus he was assiduously engaged, in laying broad and deep, a foundation for usefulness and eminence. His studies were not exclusively confined to subjects absolutely necessary, for his intended profession. In his comprehensive plan was embraced philosophy, as well physical as moral, history, classical and general literature. Several gentlemen in the College legislature, were more than once desirous to obtain his services as a tutor. Just before the commencement of the revolution, it was in contemplation to have appointed him to the Greek department. This led to a revisal of several of the best authors in that language; and though, in consequence of the war, the arrangement did not take place; he had the benefit of a more thorough and critical acquaintance with the original of the New Testament, than otherwise he might have obtained. On the death of Mr. Wadsworth, the metaphysical tutorship was offered to him; but though that science was one of his favourite studies, he declined the service, chiefly, it was understood, because his younger brother had become a member of the College. He thought it in some respects liable to inconvenience, as

* 12th July, 1777.

he himself had in a measure experienced, that of two brothers one should be tutor and the other a pupil, at the same time. The well-earned marks of distinction which the meritorious student obtains, are not unfrequently misrepresented as the result of the teacher's partiality; and the elder, apprehensive of this, is sometimes so strictly guarded against undue bias, as to withhold the deserved tribute of honour. It becomes extremely difficult, and is often very embarrassing, to adjust these contending claims, both to the approbation of one's self and of others; and it was thought most advisable to avoid the perplexity, by foregoing a connection otherwise agreeable; and for which it was the opinion of the friends of the University, no one was better qualified and adapted to make good the wide breach which that society had suffered.

During these years which passed in preparing for the ministry, wherever he resided, he was favoured with the best counsel and aid from his revered father; by whom his own views were confirmed, that the fountain head of truth is the Bible. Here he applied as to infallible authority: other helps he sought, but this alone was regarded as decisive. He studied the scriptures with critical attention in the original; he carefully acquainted himself with the history of the church; he became familiar with the best divines in our own and other languages. He sought with fervour and frequency the enlightening and sanctifying influence of that Holy Spirit by whose inspiration scripture was given, in order to a right understanding and due improvement of the words of eternal life. He became a scribe well instructed to the kingdom of God; and his occasional services, it is said by his contemporaries, were highly and justly commended by ministers and people, where he occasionally officiated.

In 1776, several influential members of the Episcopal church at Halifax, N. S. were earnest in soliciting him to settle among them, as an assistant to their aged rector, Reverend Dr. Brenton. This gentleman eagerly united in the request, and voluntarily offered to relinquish 100*l.* sterling of his salary, to promote so desirable an arrangement. The living was considered to be worth at least 300*l.* and the establishment in many respects eligible. But Mr. Eliot

had a preference, on the whole, for the denomination in which he had been educated. The doctrines and forms of worship of the Episcopalians he fully approved; for their discipline and order, he thought many arguments from *expediency* might be urged; but the exclusive claims of *high church men*, he never could admit. His father expressed decided objections to the scheme, and it was relinquished.

He officiated a short time as chaplain to the recruits of Col. Marshal's regiment, then raising in Boston, for the expedition to Canada. Besides his occasional supply of the churches in the vicinity, he passed several months in assisting Rev. Mr. Rogers at Littleton, whose feeble health rendered him unequal to constant preaching; and during the winter of 1778–9 was employed in the first church at Salem. He ever recollected the friendly attentions which he received from this people; from whom he would probably have received an invitation to settle, (which he doubtless would have accepted,) but for the impression which many had, that the New South Church in Boston were desirous of obtaining him, and that he would prefer being located in his native town. He had, more than once, preached to this latter congregation for several Sabbaths; and, as appeared, to general, if not to universal acceptance. But they, having called Mr. Clarke and received a negative, seemed to be determined not to make proposals to another, without assurances, or at least a full expectation, of the probability that they should succeed. Such encouragement the prospects at Salem forbad: and no decisive measures were adopted by either, when the purposes of both were suspended, by the sudden death of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot.

It very soon was manifest, that the eyes of the bereaved and deeply afflicted church were turned, with fond regard and tender reliance, on the son of their deceased pastor. The sentiment was generally felt, and the opinion almost universally expressed, both by the members of the society and others, that "instead of the father should be the son." The decision was as imperative as it was unanimous, among the friends of his father, and of the parish, that he was in duty bound to await the issue; and that

other churches ought not to make any advances until that one, which was thought to have highest claims, should have taken their measures, and the result should be known. At several intervals he was employed to supply them, and their estimation of his services appeared to rise, in proportion as they became more conversant with the substance and the manner of his publick discourses; and with his discreet and interesting private conversation and deportment. That it might be manifest, that not affection only, but judgment guided the choice, they voted to hear three others in connexion with him; and, at the expiration of the term of probation, a very general suffrage expressed their fixed hope and purpose. By this choice was loudly proclaimed, the most unequivocal evidence of their thorough conviction of his amiable disposition, pure character, and solid abilities. His whole manner of life, from his youth up, was intimately known; the companions of his childhood, his juvenile associates, and the familiar friends of his mature life, hereby gave testimony that no fault cleaved to him. He was valued, as the son of one whose "praise was in all the churches," and whose memory was truly precious to them; but he was *beloved*, on account of his own claims. It was believed, and the event justified the belief, that the same excellent mind was in him; that he had the ability and the disposition to serve them in the Lord, with the fidelity, and the zeal, united with the gentleness, and the love, which had been exhibited by worthies, as distinguished as have perhaps ever in succession adorned and edified any church of our Lord. [E.]

He was ordained, 3 November, 1779, pastor of the New North Church. He accepted this call, and entered upon this charge, under a deep conviction of the solemnity and magnitude of the ministerial office, and of the peculiar degree of care and duty, which would result from a connexion with such a large society. The responsibility of a settlement in the metropolis, and the special weight of obligation laid on him, by the elevated character for talents, learning, and piety of his revered predecessor; appear greatly to have exercised his thoughts, and affected his heart. In his reply to the invitation, he expressed in a very interesting manner "the alternate emotions, with-

which his breast had been filled, when attempting to collect himself into a determination on the important subject. "The result of my deliberation," he added, "is an acceptance of your call, being fully persuaded, it is a duty to my Lord and Master, the Great Head of the church, and in compliance with my obligations to this very respectable Society.

"I have not failed to seek that WISDOM, *which is profitable to direct.* I have endeavoured to draw instruction from the fountain of knowledge. And I doubt not that I have had an interest in your prayers, at the throne of grace, and been present in your addresses to HIM, with whom *is the residue of the* SPIRIT.

"I am greatly encouraged by the kind advice of many wise and judicious friends, both ministers and people, who have given their opinion, that I ought to regard this as a *call in Providence*, to which I should lend a listening ear; that the will of GOD concerning me is, that I should rise up, and stand in the place of my FATHER."

Commencing his pastoral labours under such impressions; he prosecuted them as having constant reference to the approbation of the great Shepherd. He gave himself wholly to his work: was diligent in study, active in publick and private exertions, to advance the cause and interests of Immanuel.

He was an unwearied and impartial inquirer after truth: and the result of his investigations was communicated with freedom, sincerity, and candour. His opinions were generally like those, which his Father adopted and preached; but "he called no man MASTER." He regretted the division of believers under so many names; he disliked the intemperate zeal, with which some espouse and maintain the peculiarities of different systems. If he had consented to enlist under any human leader, it probably would have been the great and amiable WATTS. He loved those divines best, who insist on the spirit and influence of genuine christianity; and valued those least, who deal in philosophical and metaphysical subtleties.

As his sentiments were not latitudinarian, his temper was most remote from any kind of bigotry. He did not feel, or affect to feel, indifference for what he had deliberately

judged to be the truth. But he never harshly censured, or superciliously contemned the character or the arguments of those, who, with a sincere and serious spirit, entertained different opinions. Alike remote from each of the extremes, in systematick theology, he was intimately connected with individuals, who adopt one or the other. He shared in an uncommon measure the confidence of all, and had great influence with all. Probably no one was in a greater, if any one was in an equal degree, a bond of union among his brethren of various religious sentiments.

The fair and flattering prospects, which opened before him, on entering the ministry, were realized, to as great an extent, as often falls to the lot of man. The union and prosperity of his people were near his heart, and he had the happiness to witness their continuance and increase. He was among them in uninterrupted harmony ; enjoying their unwavering attachment, their continually increasing affection, respect, and confidence.

In the fourth year after his settlement, he doubled his joys and divided his cares, by a union, which was prompted by affection, confirmed by judgment, and sanctioned by heaven.

In the conjugal and parental relations, his dispositions qualified him to bestow, and his inclinations led him to seek much comfort and delight. He was a model of the domestick virtues ; diffusing happiness around him ; exhibiting a pattern, and inculcating principles of piety, order, and benevolence ; delighting to witness and share the useful improvements and the innocent gratifications of the family circle.

But his household, and his flock, though they engaged, as they ought, his chief solicitudes, and occupied most of his time, were not the *exclusive* objects of his attention and care. He felt all the obligations, which flow from social connexions. He realized the claims, which grow out of the relations of civil society ; and the debt, which is due to our country, to strive to exalt its character, and advance its honour and fame, for literature, science, and the arts, as well as for virtue and humanity.

He loved his native town ; and was ever ready to give of his counsel and his time to advance its useful establish-

. To most of its charitable institutions he contrib-
iis liberal aid; of many of them he assisted in the
ion and management. Realizing the vast impor-
of the means of instruction, he took a lively interest
publick schools, and in every plan for their extension
nprovement. He was one of the active and influen-
inders of the "Boston Library;" which, from small
iings, he had the satisfaction to see arrive at respect-
iaturity, and promise to be an extensive and perma-
enefit to the community.

was a decided and warm friend of the national and
:onstitutions of government. He was the advocate
berty with order;" and, though mild in his manner of
rsing or discoursing on political topicks, he was as
i his attachment to our civil rights and interests, as
s discreet in their support, and well acquainted with
:rue principles.

was a useful member of the principal associations in
mmonwealth for advancing scientifick and literary in-
and improvement, and for diffusing the blessings of
in. In several of them he was a highly valued offi-
to some he rendered peculiar services. [F.]

' the neighbouring University he was an ornament
prop. For this place of his education he ever cher-
a filial regard, and proved one of its most steady,
, and faithful friends. Of the board of overseers he
mong the most attentive and useful members; and
corporation, of which for the last nine years he had
one of the fellows, he has been indefatigable in de-
' measures for increasing the usefulness and advancing
:st interests of a Society, which is now deeply pene-
with the immense loss sustained by his removal.

him, and his friend Dr. Belknap, may the origin
)undation of the "Massachusetts Historical Society"
ncipally ascribed. It was a child of his most devoted
ess and most faithful care. He assisted largely in form-
; valuable collection of ancient documents. Many
scripts and other treasures were obtained both in our
ry and from abroad through his instrumentality.
:erary and religious correspondents in the other states
: Union, as well as in British America, and in Eu-

rope, were numerous and of the first respectability. With England, Scotland, Germany, Italy, and Ireland, it is known, that he had a regular interchange of letters, and of publications of merit. Of these the Historical Society received a large share. He was in succession Librarian, Keeper of the Cabinet, and Corresponding Secretary; and was one of the Committee for publishing four of the ten volumes of their Collections. He was engaged in the first, of a new series, when removed from all his earthly labours. Of the *original* materials for these volumes he has been by far the largest contributor. The Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, with several biographical and topographical sketches, amounting to nearly a twelfth part of the whole work, it has been ascertained, were from his rich storehouse. For the importance of the matter, they form very prominent articles in these Collections; and from the manner of execution, in most respects, they would reflect honour on any writer.

His style, in these and his other publications, is strongly marked with characteristick peculiarities. It is easy, natural, and perspicuous; considerably ornamented, yet without any apparent effort or art. A fastidious critick might detect some inadvertencies; and the most candid may find many colloquial expressions. But all must admire the uniform good sense, and useful thought, with which all his writings abound. A vein of similar originality is perceived in them, as was ever apparent in his conversation; and an occasional quaintness of phraseology is readily excused, if it be not even regarded as a beauty, in consideration of the perpetual pleasantry of allusion and felicity of illustration, which are scattered through his productions on common subjects: and the uniformly kind, and candid, and useful reflections, which stamp his more serious performances. [G.]

His fondness for antiquarian researches led to such a familiar acquaintance with our early writers, as probably had some influence on his own manner. His favourites, among the authors of our mother country, were principally of the former age.

His compositions, as his manners and character, had much of the air and spirit of the old Puritans; qualified

e catholick feelings of his own times. To their solid
ng and substantial piety, he added a familiar acquaint-
with polite literature. Few men displayed a nicer
nment, more correct judgment, or purer taste in es-
ing works of genius: no one was more candid in re-
ing on the defects; or more liberal in praising the
lencies of authors or men.

i his moral and intellectual character his friends dwell
unmingled delight, and the fondest admiration. To a
rous circle, he was inexpressibly dear. Perhaps no
had a stronger hold on the affections of those, with
n he was intimately conversant. They considered
alents and learning to be of the very first class. His
s of knowledge were indeed uncommon; but his
ugh maturing of what he possessed, and ready appli-
n of it, to the most useful purposes, were still more
mmon, even than the extent of his literary, and the
i of his scientifick acquirements. These all however
ituted comparatively the smallest of his claims on
regard. They loved him, most tenderly and firmly
l him, for a warm benevolence of heart, which prompt-
uniform kindness; for a singleness and sincerity of
which permitted and indulged the most unreserved
dence; for fidelity on which entire reliance might be
sed.

e possessed an unaffected delicacy of mind, which led
rather to retire from publick honours, than eagerly to
them. His acquirements were more solid than
y; his aim, "rather to *be* than to *seem*," learned and
. Mere popular distinction had no charms for him;
the tokens of it, for which many are anxious, excited
m no solicitude. His doctorate came to him unex-
ed and undesired. Some years before, he had been
ulted respecting it, by some friends, who were desirous
he should have what they thought he so preeminently
ted; but his disinclination was explicit, and his wish
sive. He had no intimation that it was again contem-
d, till after it was effected. When it was intended,
in a few years, to procure a similar testimonial from
wn Alma Mater, he requested those, who purposed it,
ave what, at so late a period, would be regarded as a
ss compliment.

He estimated at its just value the approbation of the wise, and applause from the judicious. He was more than satisfied with the rank he held in his profession, and in the republick of letters, as it was declared by various unequivocal expressions of the respect of the community, for his powers and attainments. He coveted no one's more elevated situation or fame. On the contrary, he was the active patron of rising merit; and the success of the deserving was his solicitous effort, his unfeigned delight.

He loved to dwell on the peculiar excellencies by which his acquaintance were distinguished; nor did he seek to qualify his cordial commendation by unnecessarily exposing or hinting their defects or weaknesses. When he heard any one's character unduly depreciated, he was prompt and open in stating its just claims, whether arising from intellect, literature, morals, or other desert. He was lenient in respect to the failings of others; cautious of infringing their rights, or injuring their feelings. He was patient towards infirmities and foibles; inclined to overlook mistakes, ready to forgive injuries.

With the loveliest simplicity, he united a noble independence, an unbending integrity of mind. He had a dignified superiority to all cunning; he scorned to employ any little arts of management and influence; he ever pursued *right ends by right means*. He abhorred hypocrisy; he was without guile; and if in any instance he might have suffered inconvenience from over frankness, no one could adduce a charge, never did he incur the self reproach of insincerity.

With such cherished principles and fixed habits it is not surprising, that, while he attracted the devoted attachment of many, he incurred the resentment of but few, the enmity of none. It is believed, that "he left no worthy man his foe."

His *failings*, for as he was not above the condition of mortals, such he doubtless had, were overlooked in contemplating the peculiar benevolence of his heart: his *errours*, if he committed any, are forgotten in the recollection of the predominating excellence of his conduct.

Dr. Eliot's person was comely, his countenance agreeble and interesting. His stature was rather below the

middle size; and his frame not muscular. His manners were remarkably those of the OLD SCHOOL; polite, easy, unaffected; in perfect and happy consistency with his singleness of heart and purity of character.

It was mentioned,* that, during the season of early years, his constitution was exceedingly slender. It never acquired great robustness; but habits of regularity, temperance, and a tranquil tenour of feelings, secured a tolerable, and very uniform state of health. From the period of attaining mature life, he suffered few, if any considerable interruptions from sickness, in his studies or publick labours. In the winter of 1809, he was confined for several weeks, by a severe peripneumony; which occasioned to his friends, for a time, strong apprehensions of his loss. But his valuable life was protracted for a little span: and although their great anxiety, led some of those, who were most nearly connected with him, to an opinion, that his health was much impaired; it seemed to himself that it was in such a good measure restored, that he never complained much, and seldom spoke, of an occasional indigestion, and of oppression in the Thorax. To a few of his most intimate connexions he sometimes said, that he was "doubtful whether all was right, *at the heart.*" Two days before his last illness, having walked faster than usual to meet with his associates in one of the many trusts with which he was charged, in attending on all which he was remarkably constant and punctual; he complained of an unusual palpitation, and a sensation of oppressive weight, at the breast. He was seized with an extremely violent spasmodick affection of the muscles of the chest and left arm, in the afternoon of Wednesday, 10 February. Through the night, at intervals, his sufferings were excessive; but on the next day he was so far relieved, that his family and friends were encouraged to expect a speedy and entire recovery. On Friday, the attacks were renewed; and at times amounted to strong convulsions. These paroxisms were succeeded by complete prostration of strength, and by fainting; during which his sensations, he described to be as the pleasing dreams of a refreshing sleep. His physicians now regarded the indications as

* Page 212.

decisive; and, on being requested to give their real opinion, they apprized him of their conviction, that the result would be certainly and speedily fatal. He appeared fully prepared for the great event; and expressed the most entire acquiescence. [H.] Every respite from extreme pain was employed in endeavours to calm and sooth his children and friends; in imparting solemn counsel, and directing in regard to his manucripts, library, and other concerns. He explicitly desired, as he had often intimated, that no discourse should be delivered at the time of interment. He had uniformly been opposed to these ceremonials; and now requested, that the church and people would consent, that his funeral should be like that of their former pastor. [I.] He endured such great and almost uninterrupted distress, and was reduced to such a state of debility, that but few of the many, who anxiously visited the house, were introduced to his chamber. Those, who were thus privileged, were impressed with admiration at the tranquillity, which prevaded his whole demeanour; the serenity which beamed from his looks, or flowed from his lips. He had no anxiety, but that his submission might continue; no solicitude, but respecting his friends; no apprehension, but that he might grow impatient, if his sufferings were long protracted. His mind was unimpaired to the last; and he was enabled to meet all, which was appointed, not only without a murmur, but with devout and even grateful resignation. Through the whole trying scene, he honoured his christian profession and ministry; and, with a faith unwavering, a hope full of immortality, he was gradually exhausted by the disease, and expired, about half past ten o'clock, on the morning of Lord's day, 14 Februrary, 1813.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[A. Page 211.] For proofs of the peculiar felicity with which he exhibits accurate and strong resemblances, see "The New England Biographical Dictionary." To select from such a gallery, the pieces of greatest merit, is extremely difficult. The eye of a spectator most eagerly

turns, and is most intently fixed, on the portraits of those, for whom the greatest attachment is felt: and the judgment, in regard to execution, is prone to a bias from the interest, which is felt in the subject. Without venturing on a large enumeration, and wishing to regard general merit, rather than be guided by individual taste, the articles SAMUEL ADAMS, F. AMES, BELKNAP, BURNET, CHAUNCY, COLMAN, J. HANCOCK, HUTCHINSON, INCREASE and COTTON MATHER, JAMES OTIS, EDMUND and JOSIAH QUINCY, E. STILES, are considered to be models of character-painting. P. THACHER would have been added to the list, but that his life was not inserted in the Dictionary; having been so recently published in the Collections of the Historical Society. See Vol. VIII. p. 277—84.

[B. Page 211.] Reverend ANDREW ELIOT, D. D. holds a very elevated rank among American scholars and divines.* Both in his own country and abroad, he was regarded as one of our brightest lights. The University at Edinburgh honoured themselves, and him, by conferring the degree of doctor in divinity. Besides several excellent discourses on publick occasions, a Volume of his Sermons was published in Boston, 1774, and exhibits one of the most honourable specimens of American talent. His death, 13 September, (N. S.) 1778, was attended with many circumstances of astonishing similarity with those, which marked the exit of his worthy son and successor.

He was born 25 December, (O. S.) 1718. When about 3 years of age, he was taken from a tub of water apparently lifeless. The suspended animation was not restored until after a considerable space of time. He was graduated at Harvard College, 1737; ordained pastor of the New North Congregational Church, in Boston, 14 April, (O. S.) 1742. In October following, he married ELIZABETH LANGDON, daughter of Josiah L. one of the deacons of his church. Her mother's maiden name was *Elizabeth Sexton.* Her brother, *Ephraim L.* was graduated at Harvard College 1752; was for many years adjunct master of the north latin grammar school, when Mr. Wiswall,

* See the New England, and Allen's American Biographical Dictionaries.

the principal, was labouring under the infirmities of age. He was a very rigid disciplinarian. He had studied divinity; was a decided Socinian; but was prevented from preaching by insuperable constitutional timidity. He died in 1764 or 1765.

Dr. A. Eliot had eleven children, all living at the time of his death. His wife survived him; and died 14 June, 1795.

1. *Andrew* was born 11 January, 1743; was graduated at Harv. College 1762, was appointed librarian 1766, tutor 1767, one of the fellows 1773; ordained the Congregational minister of Fairfield, Connecticut, 1774; died in the autumn of 1805.* His wife was Mary, daughter of Honourable Joseph Pynchon. She survived him, and died 1810. They had seven children. Their only son, Andrew, is now minister of New Milford, Connecticut.
2. *Josiah*: born 11 January, 1745. Was a merchant in Boston. Died at Georgia.
3. *Elizabeth*: born 4 May, 1747; died 31 December, 1780.
4. *Samuel:* born 17 June, 1748; married Elizabeth, daughter of William Greenleaf, Esq. who survived him, and is now wife of Edward Pope, Esq. of New Bedford. He was a merchant, in Boston; died March, 1784, leaving five children.
5. *Ruth:* born 2 October, 1749, was the wife of Capt. Thomas Knox; died 29 September, 1802, leaving one daughter.
6. *Mary:* born 24 January, 1750, was the wife of Capt. Nathaniel Goodwin; died 11 April, 1810, leaving one son.
7. *John:* the subject of the preceding memoir, married 10 September, 1784, Ann Treadwell, daughter of Jacob Treadwell, Esq. of Portsmouth, N. H. Her mother was Ann Rogers, daughter of Daniel R. an apothecary in Portsmouth, who was 4th son, 8th child, of Rev. Nathaniel R. pastor of the 1st church in that town. He was a son of John R.

* See Historical Collections, X. p. 188.

President of H. College, son to Rev. Nathaniel R. of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who was a son of Rev. John R. of Dedham, England, a grandson of John R. the MARTYR at Smithfield.*

A fine portrait of him, executed by Copley, is in the family of the late Dr. Eliot; whose children, Andrew, John, Anna, George, Elizabeth Langdon, and Mary, are lineal descendants of the 9th generation, from this famous divine.

8. *Sarah:* born 3 November, 1755; was married to Mr. Joseph Squire of Fairfield, Connecticut; died May 8, 1799, leaving five sons and four daughters.
9. *Susanna:* born 25 February, 1759; is the wife of Dr. David Hull, of Fairfield, Connecticut.
10. *Ephraim:* born 29 December, 1761; was graduated at Harv. College, 1780; was qualified for the practice of physick; and is an eminent druggist in Boston.
11. *Anna:* born 27 April, 1765; was married to Capt. Melzar Joy; died 28 March, 1799, leaving two daughters.

The following is the genealogy, as far as has been ascertained, of this family of ELIOT, (anciently *Elyot*,) which has no relation to any other of the same name in America.

I. *Andrew Eliot*, an emigrant from Wales, about the time Mr. Higginson came to Salem, was one of the first settlers of Beverly. His son
II. *Andrew*, came over in the same vessel, with his family; but was himself drowned on the passage, near Cape Sable. His son
III. *Andrew*, lived at Beverly. He was one of the jury that convicted those at Salem, who were tried for witchcraft. This afterward greatly exercised his mind; he lamented it as a heinous sin, and set apart many days of fasting and prayer, to express his penitence, and seek forgiveness. His son

* See Alden's Historical Account of Portsmouth, Hist. Coll. X. pp. 46—9, 66, 7.

IV. *Andrew*, was a merchant, in Boston, and one of the sufferers in the great fire, Cornhill, 1711; He married Ruth Symonds, of Beverly; and had two sons and one daughter.

V. (i.) *Samuel*, the eldest, was a bookseller in Boston, a man of great intelligence and worth, who wrote several able pieces, with his name attached, against what he considered the fanaticism of Whitfield, Tennent, Davenport, and their followers. Of three daughters, one was the wife of the late Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; two died single. His son, Samuel Eliot, Esquire, a distinguished merchant of Boston, was for several years President of the Massachusetts Bank, is Vice President of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, to the funds of which he has been a bountiful contributor and active patron, as also of various useful and benevolent institutions.

(ii.) *Ruth*, was married to Nathaniel Thayer. They had three daughters, and one son, Ebenezer, minister of Hampton, N. H. father of Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, of Lancaster.

(iii.) *Andrew*, the youngest son, is the principal subject of this note.

[C. Page 212.] At this period Mr. Peleg Wiswall was master of this school, assisted by Mr. Ephraim Langdon.* He was born at Dorchester; was graduated at Harvard College, 1702; died 1767, at the advanced period of 84 years. Josiah Langdon, cousin to Ephraim, then had the care of the school, but remained not long, as he was deficient in a spirit of government. The scholars were sent, for about six weeks, to the South School, then under the care of the celebrated John Lovell,† and his son, the present James Lovell, Esquire. The latter was appointed temporary master of the North School; which was for some time in a very unsettled state. In 1768, Mr. Samuel Hunt was introduced to the charge, and continued in it till the revolutionary war; when master Lovell having retired with the loyalists, Mr. H. was appointed his successor. He it was who offered young Mr. Eliot to College.

* See last note, p. 227–8. † See New Eng. Biog. Dict. p. 299.

The tutors of his class were Mr. Stephen Scales, for the two first years, and Mr. John Wadsworth, the two last. A feeling and elegant tribute to this latter instructer is given by his grateful and affectionate pupil, N. Eng. Biograph. Dict. p. 324. The other tutors, during the period of his pupilage were, Mr. Joseph Willard, afterwards President of the College, Mr. Andrew Eliot,* Mr. Timothy Hilliard, afterwards minister of Barnstable and Cambridge, and Mr. John Marsh, now D. D. of Weathersfield, Connecticut.

[D. Page 213.] A fund was established by His Excellency Edward Hopkins, among other important purposes, for the procuring of valuable books to be conferred on such students of the College, as were distinguished for their proficiency in various branches of literature and science. An engraving of the College seal, with the inscription "Detur Digniori" used to be pasted in the book or books thus conferred; and hence the familiar name given to these testimonials of merit. The volume he thus received was "Condillac on human knowledge."

The publick performance, which was then most desired, because it was well understood, that the authority of College intended it as the highest honour, was the Latin Salutatory Oration. For a long period this was the only part, besides Syllogistic Disputations. It is believed, that the first English exercise on commencement was a Dialogue in 1769, by William Tudor and Jonathan W. Austin, and the first English oration was in 1770, by Ward Chipman. From that time the proportion of English pieces have been increasing, and now few in any other language are exhibited.

[E. Page 218.] The NEW NORTH was the *fifth* Congregational church organized in Boston; the *second*, at the north end of the town. The NORTH or SECOND CHURCH was gathered, 1649, seventeen years after the founding of FIRST CHURCH; and at the commencement of the next century had become very numerous. Their meeting house in North Square, afterwards called the *Old North*, was crowded to overflowing; and in 1714 a new building was erected, and a new church amicably formed.

* See last note, p. 228.

The house was of wood, nearly on the spot where the present brick edifice stands. It was dedicated 5 May, 1714; taken down, August, 1802; the new house completed and dedicated 2 May, 1804. The ministers of this church have been

	Ordained	*Died*	*Aged.*
Rev. John Webb,	20 October, 1714,	16 April, 1750,	63.
„ Peter Thacher, (installed)	28 January, 1723,	1 March, 1739.	61.
„ Andrew Eliot, D. D.	14 April, 1742,	13 September, 1778,	59.
„ John Eliot, D. D.	3 November, 1779,	14 February, 1813,	69.

In the sermon by the last of these *worthies*, on entering the new house of worship, is a valuable summary of the history of the church, and of the characters of its pastors. In the New England Biographical Dictionary, a more detailed account of them is given. Sermons on the death of Rev. Mr. Thacher, by his colleague, by Rev. Dr. Colman, and Rev. William Cooper, were published, as were Rev. Dr. A. Eliot's sermon, on the death of his colleague; and Rev. P. Thacher's on the departure of Dr. A. Eliot.

On occasion of Dr. John Eliot's death, a sermon by Rev. Dr. Lathrop was published by vote of the society, containing a very interesting sketch of his last illness, with notices of his life and character, and a soothing application of the leading doctrine, "*The gracious appointment of* God *a sure foundation of comfort and hope.*" It is understood, that a sermon on the same occasion, by Rev. Dr. Freeman, will be given to the publick; and also that parts of a sermon at the Thursday lecture, by Rev. S. C. Thacher are to be inserted in the first number of a new periodical work, "The Christian Disciple."

The following extracts from a sermon preached to the bereaved Congregation, 28 March, convey the writer's estimate of the *pastoral* character of Dr. Eliot more fully, than seemed to be proper in the memoir.

"The tender scene of his settlement is fresh in the recollection of many among you; who can never forget the overpowering emotions it excited. The spectacle was as rare, as it was interesting, to behold one son* of a former pastor, introducing a brother into the place of their

* Rev. Andrew Eliot, of Fairfield, preached at the ordination of his brother, and the discourse was printed.

ainted sire. How did you hang on the lips of the preach-
:r, as he dwelt on the prophetick declaration, which has
een so well fulfilled, "The spirit of Elijah doth rest up-
n Elisha."* Yes; you all are witnesses, that this pre-
liction was indeed verified. The mantle descended on
he successour: the spirit of wisdom and meekness, of the
ear of the Lord, and a sound mind: the spirit of prayer
nd devotion, of gentleness and love. With like affection
nd esteem was he honoured through life, with like un-
:igned grief, mingled with like strong consolation and
;ood hope, was his death regarded. The character and
ervices of your late pastor are embalmed in your hearts,
nd will be had in remembrance, associated with those of
is predecessor; their names are united in your acknowl-
dgments to heaven: "and the rising generation will be
aught, to call them blessed."

"To detail the particulars of his ministry among you; to well minutely on the manner of his discharging the various publick, private, and social duties of his office, would urnish a copious and rich theme for more than one discourse; and to the fullest description, which I could give, our hearts would be disposed and able to make many additions. Imperfect as the sketch must be, it cannot be holly omitted.

"His preaching was chiefly of a practical nature, and in a lain familiar style. He sought not the applause of hearrs, but to convince their judgment, engage their affecons, and influence their temper. With a deep insight in- human nature, he had great skill in delineating characters; and his representations of the various influences f the human passions were uncommonly forcible and impressive. The disputed doctrines of our religion were ot his frequent nor favourite topicks. He was far from onsidering all opinions, concerning the mysteries of chrisanity, as alike innocent or safe; but he was patient in canassing the objections, he was most candid in judging, and ind in speaking of others. While he unfolded the great [illegible] of our redemption, according to those views, which e entertained of this marvellous scheme of grace, all, ho were devout and humble, shared his charitable regards.

* The text, 2 Kings ii. 15.

For those whom he thought to labour under mistakes, he felt a friendly solicitude; for any who appeared fixed in important errours, he fervently prayed. He believed that as real religion was not often in the whirlwind of controversy, the storm of passion, the fire of enthusiasm; so neither was it ever in the listlessness of indifference, or the frost of insensibility, but in the still small voice of godliness and brotherly kindness. He was eager to promote good will among the ministers, and other professors of different denominations; he was a peace-maker in his own. He strove sincerely, and often with much success, to heal divisions, to reconcile misunderstandings, and prevent alienations in the churches of Christ, and in all our associations, literary, social, and sacred.

"But christianity, though with him not wholly or chiefly consisting in dogmas, was a scheme of truth, as well as of duty; it was a rule of faith, as well as a law of life; it had its creed of doctrines, as well as its code of requirements. The religion he experienced and preached, was a sentiment of the heart, as well as a principle of the understanding. His darling theme was grace; rich grace! It was most consonant with his tender sensibility and mild disposition to "beseech hearers by the mercies of God." But he also knew that the "terrours of the Lord," were an essential part of the appointed means of "persuading" men. He shunned not to declare all the counsel of heaven; he proclaimed both the glorious promises and the tremendous threatenings by which revelation is sanctioned.

"He ever sought and prayed for your peace; he carried you in his hearty prayers to God, under all your trials and afflictions. He was grieved in all which troubled you, and he partook in all which gladdened your hearts, and shed sunshine on your prospects. To most of the families in his congregation, he had opportunity for both these, in the course of his ministry. Though you fondly hoped and fervently prayed, that it might have been longer protracted, still was it continued for such a period, as to witness various changes. A new generation, as it were, have grown up under his pastoral care. In these 34 years, 1454 have been initiated into this church by baptism; but these compose not near the whole number of births. How

did he watch over your advancing years, as a kind shepherd; how impressive were his remarks and prayers, when you attended his catechetical exercises; how did he notice you at home, and at school, and in all your progress to maturity. How many of you has he united in life's tenderest connexion? Of 811 couples, (1622 persons,) whom he has joined in marriage, numbers remain to testify with what fond and faithful counsel he accompanied the nuptial benediction. How was his heart comforted, when you apprized him of your purpose to take the vows of your God; and give to your Saviour the kindness of your youth, and the love of your early espousals. How did he endeavour to make plain the access to the ordinance of the supper, and to welcome those, who, in faith, and penitence, and love, sought admission to this banquet of love. Of 263, who were admitted to the privileges of the christian covenant, he had the satisfaction of introducing 161 into the fraternity of full communion. How did he regret that many, about whom the best hopes may be indulged, yet absent themselves from this last duty and pleasure. Numbers, it is fervently hoped, have been prepared by his ministrations for this solemn and improving service, as well as all other parts of the christian obligations. Much seed, sown by his care, may be vegetating to produce fruit to eternal life.

"How courteous and affable was he, in the social intercourse, which he maintained with you; how disposed to harm and regulate festivity, by his cheerful communications; how improving were his most familiar interviews: how kind was he in advising, whenever advice was asked; how faithful in reproving, if, in any instance, censure was incurred. He wept too, with those that wept, as well as rejoiced with those who rejoiced. In attentions to the sick, and the sorrowful, he was remarkably assiduous and acceptable. To the dying he administered the truths, commands, and hopes of religion, with peculiar impressiveness and tenderness. To mourners he was indeed a son of consolation; to the needy a ready and bountiful helper. When you are reminded of these portions of the character of the deceased, the wound which his separation inflicted, smarts and bleeds afresh. Your undissembled sorrow

can scarcely be repressed, when you dwell on the recollection of all the multiplied ties, by which your friend and pastor was entwined about your affections. No more from this sacred desk, which is invested in the sable habiliments of mourning, may its late occupant dispense the light of his doctrine, to guide your feet into the paths of truth and righteousness: No longer will his prayers and consolations be hence poured forth for you under your afflictions. You all feel that you have sustained not only a publick, but a personal loss. You realize, that he was to you a devoted friend. According to your respective ages, you experience a sorrow like that, which is inflicted by the death of a parent, or a brother, or a child.

"What then must be the breach in the domestick circle? "It is deep and wide as the sea: the Almighty alone can heal it." Sacred be the sufferings of the respected relict, from whom hath ceased the desire of her eyes, and the delight of her heart: To Him, who hath graciously condescended to reveal himself, among other endearing names, as the Consort of the widowed, the Father of the fatherless, we devoutly commend her and her children, who have lost one of the most faithful and exemplary of fathers. May his counsels ever govern, and his pattern guide them. The legacy of his fervent prayers, and his wise instructions; his christian life and christian exit, rightly improved, will be of infinitely more value, than any extent of temporal inheritance.

"Such is a very rapid sketch of the *pastor*, whom you mourn. It has been the purpose to give a representation, which, however imperfect, should be faithful; which, however unequal to the merits of the subject, might speak our sense of our loss, and lead to a suitable improvement of this heavy dispensation of providence. To multitudes it is deeply affecting; to his friends, his family, and you, the people of his charge, it is as instructive, as it is solemn and severe.

"Perhaps in estimating the kind course of divine providence, amid all the innumerable proofs of the infinite benevolence of Deity, this is one of the most illustrious; that the overwhelming anguish which recent bereavement occasions, is mitigated by endurance; that not only piety

commands us to acquiesce, but that reflection aids us to be tranquil, under the heaviest afflictions; that when the pungency of grief subsides, it is succeeded by a calm composure; that even a pensive satisfaction accompanies the recollection of those "who were to us, as our own souls."

"Such, my christian friends, I trust is our experience under the late most trying dispensation. When our father, and friend, and counsellor, was removed in so sudden a manner, we were ready to exclaim, "Were ever sorrows like unto our sorrows?" and refusing to be comforted, the wish could scarcely be repressed, "Let us also go, that we may die with him." But already are we enabled to remember our duty, and follow his counsel; we acknowledge in our loss the hand of God, and are composed. We call on Him, and have faith that he heareth us: We humble ourselves under his mighty hand, "that in due time he may raise us up; casting our care on him," we realize, "that he careth for us." The last offices of affection and respect were paid to the precious relicks, with a devout reference to the benediction of the Lord of life; we prayed to the Author of consolation, to sanctify our sorrows, "and went to the grave to weep there." We saw the tomb close on all that was mortal of our friend, but we "mourned not as those, who have no hope." We took comfort from the assured belief, that the treasure committed to its custody was not lost, but reserved for the resurrection at the last day. We realized that the stroke, which removed him was parental, and its design merciful; and our submission to the will of Him, who took from us a comfort and a blessing, was blended with gratitude, because he gave it.

"But though the lenient hand of time has infused some softening ingredients into our cup of sorrow, long will it be ere we shall forget its bitterness. You have paid the last external tokens of respect and affection to a pastor, whom you ever delighted to honour; but the period is very remote before your hearts will have discharged the debt of homage, with which they overflow, and which they unitedly acknowledge. Never, while you live, will you cease to recollect his virtues and graces; his amiable tem-

per and mild manners; his excellent example and instructions; his pleasing and improving intercourse; his paternal and brotherly attentions. These, and all the variety of endearing circumstances by which he was knit to your hearts, will form the theme of your frequent converse one with another. You will dwell on them with undiminishing interest and tenderness, and teach them to those, who enjoyed not the privilege of knowing them.

"Mark the *perfect* man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." Is it then pretended, do any ask, that the great and good character, the outlines of which have been now faintly sketched, was pure from faults? It were alike vain and culpable to make such a pretence. His excellence was that of sincerity, not of perfection. His goodness was of man, not of angel. He was of the descendants of the transgressors, and partook of their fallen nature; he had, doubtless, temptations, against which he was not always successful; and infirmities, to which he sometimes yielded; and sins, which easily beset him, and for some pollutions from which he needed and implored the pardon of Him against whom all men are offenders. He had a comfortable hope, a cheering trust, that he was forgiven and accepted through the great Mediator. And those, whose privilege it was to be admitted to an interview with him, in his last illness, were "comforted beyond expression," with the comfort wherewith he "himself was comforted also of God." Oh! may the instructive demeanour and language of this servant of Jesus, never be effaced from my lively recollection. May the prayer and conviction, that the "friendship about to be interrupted would be renewed again," which he then uttered, be ever present to my mind, and give firmness to the resolution, ardour to the wish, energy to the supplication, that God in mercy may grant its fulfilment. "*Let me live the life, let me die the death of the* RIGHTEOUS; *let my last end be like his!*"

[F. Page 221.] The various places of honour and trust to which he was elected, and which were not only unsought by him, but accepted in consequence of the earnest solicitations of those who thought him best adapted to fill them,

abundantly evidence how highly those valued him, who knew him best. His important offices and eminent services in the Historical Society, and in the College, have been mentioned.*

Of the Convention of Congregational ministers, he was for many years TREASURER. At his death he was
SECRETARY of the Congregational Charitable Society:
VICE PRESIDENT of the Board of Commissioners of the Society in Scotland for promoting Christian Knowledge:
VICE TREASURER of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America:
TREASURER of the Massachusetts Humane Society:
A TRUSTEE of the Bible Society of Massachusetts:
" " " Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society:
" " " Boston Library:
" " " Theological Library.

He was a Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society.

His doctorate bears date, Edinb. 24 June, 1797. The diploma is signed "GEO. BAIRD, *Primarius*, and by twenty three professors, among whom are HUGO BLAIR, DUGALD STEWART, ALEXANDER FRASER TYTLER."

"At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 22 February, 1813.

"Voted, That the Corporation partake in the sorrow extensively felt at the death of the Rev. Dr. ELIOT, who was amiable and excellent in all the relations of private life; a learned, pious, and catholick divine; an exemplary and affectionate pastor of a church; a man of letters, especially versed in the literature and history of New England; a fellow of the Corporation, who secured the high esteem and attachment of his colleagues, by his agreeable and useful conversation, his benevolent and conciliatory disposition and manners; joined to acknowledged consistency and sincerity of character, and by his enlightened and disinterested zeal in the service of the University."

[G. Page 222.] A more detailed exposition of his *literary* character is given in the following extract from a

* Page 221—2.

"Publick Lecture, read in the Chapel of Harvard College, 19 February, 1813."

"You doubtless expect, on this occasion, some notice of the recent solemn, and affecting dispensation of divine Providence. The near connexion of Doctor ELIOT with our Society, and the distinguished services he has rendered it, unite with the reverence which many of you from personal knowledge felt for *him*, and I trust it may be added, with the kind sympathy of all of you in *my* overwhelming affliction, to render as suitable, as it is merited, a brief tribute of gratitude, affection, and esteem.

"To others more appropriately belongs the enforcing of those pious considerations, which events like these are adapted to teach. Be theirs the delightful duty of leading you in this calamity, and in all that you enjoy or suffer, to acknowledge the divine hand and adore the divine sovereignty. Mine be the humbler attempt to portray some of the prominent features of him, concerning whose mind and manners, attainments and virtues, it may most justly be said,

> "O Almae matris dolor et decus,
> Unde juventus exemplum, vates materiam capiant."

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* * * * * * * * * *

"But it is not only the endeared pastor of a church, and an example of the domestick and social virtues, whom we mourn. For the same qualities and course of action, that made him the delight of his relatives and near friends, he was highly and justly valued not only by his associates and numerous acquaintance, but throughout the community. "He was an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile." Few mortals ever possessed, in a more perfect measure, that "ornament of great price, a meek and quiet spirit." "In simplicity and godly sincerity, he had his conversation;" and "when the ear heard him it blessed him; when the eye saw him it bore witness to him," that he was indeed "A GOOD MAN." It cannot be omitted to give testimony to his unwearying zeal in the service of his young friends in their entrance into life; especially in their course of study and preparation for the ministry. His discreet counsels, his wise instructions, his ready aid, secured the firmest and fondest attachment of many, who

clung to him while living, as among their best benefactors; who mourn his departure, as one of their severest trials; and who will ever cherish in their grateful hearts his precious memory.

But great as is this loss, in these various views, it has a still larger extent, and more afflictive operation.

"A pillar in the fabrick of our municipal and civil interests is laid low. In the high and honourable acceptation of the term, he was a patriot. His opinion and his suffrage were ever in behalf of the GOOD GREAT MEN; his feelings and principles those of the class he loved and supported.

"A luminary is extinguished in the temple of literature; than which, if some may have sparkled with more brilliancy, none have shed a clearer, a purer, or a more benign radiance. As in his professional so in his literary walk, he never sought popularity; and he was disinclined to performing on publick occasions. But when a sense of duty or the solicitations of friends prevailed; their utmost wishes were always fulfilled, their highest hopes gratified.

"With an excellent natural capacity, he had been a diligent student: and he exercised much reflection in digesting his knowledge. His memory was retentive, and his judgment remarkably mature. His fancy was lively, his imagination discursive, but great learning had restrained their exuberance; and his compositions, while abounding with pleasing imagery, are weighty with important thoughts. His acquirements were vast and various. With the exception only of abstract mathematicks, and in his important and delightful science his attainments were far above mediocrity,* no one with whom it has been my privilege to be intimately conversant, has been regarded as more justly, if any one be equally, entitled to the high and honourable character of "*a good scholar and a ripe one.*" In familiarity with classical learning, especially with the Latin authors, he probably left among us no superiour; in the science of ethicks and the philosophy of the human mind he had few equals; in an intimate knowledge of the

* Those acquainted with his whole course of study say, that at one period he devoted much time, and the utmost attention, to mathematical and physical philosophy.

civil and ecclesiastical history of our own country, and of that from which we sprung, he probably had none. For many years he had given a considerable part of his leisure to researches into the foundation and progress of the New England churches. He was continually attentive to collecting facts in regard to our illustrious worthies; and preparing sketches of their lives, as known from his own observation, or as they were described by the aged friends of his youth, or as his extensive reading and correspondence enabled him to depict them. Before he had nearly accomplished what he meditated, proposals were issued for the publication of an "American Biographical Dictionary." This unexpected project caused him much perplexity. He thought of abandoning his long meditated purpose, and of depositing his vast stock of materials in the archives of his favourite Historical Society. The other alternative seemed to be, a premature impression of his work; because if delayed, until the appearance of the other, it might be thought in some degree to interfere with it, and suspected to have been greatly indebted to it. To the former scheme, of relinquishing the project, which had been announced some years before, his literary associates, and many others, who were apprized of his plan, would not consent; and the issue, it is believed, has fully justified their advice. Under all the disadvantages now hinted, it is a monument of diligent and impartial exertion of great talents and learning. That he was not spared, to complete a revised and enlarged edition, is a subject of unmixed regret; for who shall venture to apply the pencil to the cartoons of Raphael?

"Besides this work, he was the author of many very valuable articles in the Collections of the Historical Society, and of several occasional discourses.* He contributed

* His separate publications are, as far as is known,
A Sermon before Free Masons, anniversary of St. John, 24 June, 1782.
A Charge do. do. do. do. 1783.
A Sermon on the day of Annual Thanksgiving, 20 November, 1794.
do. at the ordination of Joseph McKean, at Milton, 1 Nov. 1797.
do. on publick worship, 1800.
do. on the completion of the House of Worship, for the New North Religious Society, 2 May, 1804.
A Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Henry Edes, at Providence, 17 July, 1805.
A Biographical Dictionary, account of the first settlers and other eminent characters in New England. 8vo. pp. 511. 1809.
Of the articles he furnished for the Historical Collections, these are the most considerable;

too, with a liberal hand, from his treasures, to the Boston Magazine, published in 1783—4; and to other periodical miscellanies. He had contemplated preparing a volume of sermons for the press, but had not selected and revised any number; and, alas! "his purposes are broken off." Had he not otherwise directed, his friends would strongly urge the publication of some of his manuscripts; believing that for evangelical and useful instructions, for serious and truly catholick sentiments, as well as for literary value, they would be a very valuable and acceptable addition to the stock of American sermons.

"His compositions are very little elaborated. Perhaps he too closely followed the maxim, of his admired Quintilian, "Curam verborum *rerum* esse solicitudinem volo."* He had great copiousness of language, as he had great freedom of thought. The high praise of perspicuity, and ease is, in a remarkable measure, his just due; and often the more usually coveted applause of brilliant imagery. His style is peculiarly his own; and his writing like his conversation. Fond of figurative expressions, he was commonly very happy in their application; especially in illustrating his thoughts, on serious subjects, by apt allusions from the sacred scriptures. The manner happily corresponded with the matter of his publick discourses. In correct and neat, though usually familiar language, with a melodious voice and easy gestures, his eloquence was always natural and agreeable. Rarely did he attempt that which is highly elevated, powerful, or sublime. We were reminded, when we heard him, rather of the mild exhortations and gentle entreaties of the last of the evangelists, than of the great apostle of the Gentiles, whom the people at Lystra would have worshipped, as the genius of eloquence.

Account of burials in Boston, 1701—74, and part 1775, IV. 213—16, and 298.
Topographical description of New Bedford, IV. 232—238.
Notice of William Whittingham, &c. and other historical scraps, with Narrative of newspapers in New England, V. 206—216, and VI. 64—78.
Sketch of the life and character of Dr. Belknap. VI. 10—15.
Ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts and Plymouth, including biography of several eminent ministers, VII. 262—280, IX. 1—49, X. 1—87. & I. N. Ser 194—210.
Historical account of John Eliot, "The apostle to the Indians," VIII. 5—36.
Topographical and historical account of Marblehead, VIII. 54—79.
Memoirs of Dr. Thacher, VIII. 277—84.
Memoirs of Andrew Eliot, and Thomas Pemberton, X. 188—191.

* Inst. Orat. viii. 1.

Though these inspired primitive ministers, possess the highest claims on our attention, yet each has some, peculiarly and appropriately his own. If required to select the orator of most consummate skill, either for strength of argument, weight of sentiment, vehemence of diction, and irresistible pathos, the farewell address to the elders of Fphesus, the discourse to the men of Jerusalem, the defence before Felix, and that to Agrippa, would alone suffice to direct the admiring eye and rapturous plaudit to Paul of Tarsus. But in exciting the softer emotions, in engaging the kinder affections of the heart, where can descriptions and appeals more influential and effectual be found, than in the narrative of the last supper, and the discourse which preceded it, and of the scene of the crucifixion, with the events that followed the resurrection; by the beloved John. In all his epistles, breathes the same spirit that dictated the address, which ecclesiastical historians have represented this beloved disciple to have made, when in advanced years, he used to be carried to the assemblies of the primitive church. His infirmities preventing a long exhortation, he again and again used only to say, "little children love one another."

"Among his fondest literary attachments, the writings of Erasmus, Le Clerc, and especially of Jortin* were pre-eminent.

* His resemblance to this last, who was in such a peculiar degree, his favourite author, was often remarked by his friends one to another. Probably they had been prevented expressing this to him; for there was such an unaffected delicacy of manner combined with his dignity of mind, that it was extremely difficult to speak to him of his excellencies. In the most unreserved intimacies of a long friendship, I never could give vent in his presence to the praises which his performances merited. One,* whom he highly and justly valued, has recently publickly paid the tribute, which all acknowledged appropriately due.

When this was shewn to him in print, he was extremely embarrassed, and evidently distressed, at what he alone regarded as unmerited. "To deserve that," he said, "would fill the measure of my ambition." By some of his intimate associates, by one at least, the parallel is thought to reflect nearly as much lustre on the transatlantic elder brother, as can be derived by our countryman from the proud cognomen. This is deliberately said, under a full impression of what Jortin was; which impression cannot be described more satisfactorily, than it has been by the celebrated Dr. Parr. The quotation, though long, will it is presumed be acceptable, both for its intrinsick excellence, and as a sketch of the present subject, so wonderfully exact, that it almost seems as though it could only have been copied from our lately departed friend.

"Learned he was without pedantry; he was ingenious without the affectation of singularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of

* *Rev. Mr Jenks, in an Eulogy pronounced at Bowdoin College the last commencement, refers to Dr. E.'s account of his Excellency Gov. B. as the opinion "of the modest and learned Jortin of New England." Page* 18.

"To very few men is our College under greater obligations, than to the late and the former Doctor Eliot. The father was actually chosen, in 1774, president of this University, of which for many years as an overseer, and as a fellow of the Corporation, he too was one of the ornaments and props. But he declined, because he was so greatly attached to his people, and their reciprocal value for him seemed, in his view, to forbid a separation.

"The son was judged by very many to possess all the most essential requisites, for that important place; if not gifted with the same commanding and popular manner, which crowned the father's qualifications for this office. Whether those on whom the choice devolved, ever in form proposed to him such an arrangement, is not known; but it is known, that when an intimate acquaintance and

skepticism; and a friend to free inquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart, which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine, and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a school boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject, and in every book, the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man.

"——————————Ut omnis
"Votiva pateat tanquam descripta Tabella
"Vita senis.——————————"*

"His style, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated: though familiar it is never mean.

"At the shadowy and fleeting reputation, which is sometimes gained by the petty frolicks of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, he never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise, in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path: and in pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he at least secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind, which neither prepossession had seduced, nor malevolence polluted. He had too much discernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dulness; and too much candour to insult, where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferiour, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal, with or without the sacred name of a friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows, as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice, but with delicacy; and therefore he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austerely.

"The esteem and affection which I feel for so profound a scholar, and so honest a man, make me wholly indifferent to the praise or censure of those who vilify, without reading his writings, or who read them without finding some incentive to study, some proficiency in knowledge, or some improvement in virtue."†

* Hor. Sat. L. ii. I. 32.

† *See Tracts printed for Charles Dilly*, 1789.

confidential friend, once hinted his wish and expectation that such might be the result, with the frankness and sincerity which singularly characterised him, he disclaimed all pretensions and wishes for such an honour. At the same time he declared, both because he was conscious of a want of adaptation in many particulars, (to say nothing of other objections) and because he was completely happy in his pastoral connexion, that it would not require a moment's effort to decline it, were the offer to be made.

"The departure of a man, like the one thus rapidly sketched, is indeed no common loss. In the contemplation of his capacity and disposition, to serve the interests of this antient school of religion and learning, and of the power, which his hold on the publick confidence, by his character for moderation and integrity gave him, to be eminently useful to it; we are ready to pronounce our deprivation the greatest that could be sustained. For myself, allow a paragraph of egotism, I cannot adequately express, and but imperfectly hint, the extent of my loss. It is of one, who was the counsellor of my collegiate course; a guide, in my professional studies; of a friend, who took me by the hand, and led me not only among the groves of science and the fountains of literature, but into "the green pastures" of sacred truth, "beside the still waters" that flow from the mountain of Zion. His judgment has been influential in settling all the arrangements of my life. He directed to me the inquiries of those, among whom I passed the delightful period of my ministry; his opinion did much in deciding my settlement with that people, who will ever be greatly endeared to my heart. While he fully knew and approved the reasons for my not engaging earlier in the duties of instruction here, he balanced my wavering mind, in reference to the existing connexion; to his advice and countenance any service that has resulted is to be chiefly attributed; and on him I relied, for the effecting of some further arrangements, which might render it more pleasant and beneficial. With him all my plans of useful occupation, in any leisure hours, were in common, and on his approbation greatly depended the accomplishment of whatever I had meditated, and was pursuing. But he is removed from my side; and beyond the circle of relatives, what greater loss can I endure. I

am indeed bereaved of a second father. Excepting the tender ligaments which bind me to endeared domestick connexions, I can sincerely adopt the sentiment of Beza, respecting his illustrious friend Calvin.

> " Hereby the strongest tie to earth is severed,
> " The bitterest pang is extracted from death."*

[H. Page 226.] The proximate cause of his death is represented by his attending physician, ISAAC RAND, M. D. to have been "an organick disease of the heart." On examination, after his decease, it was found, that " the heart was much enlarged and inflamed ; with a little purulent appearance on its surface. The pericardium was thickened and inflamed. Some of the valves of the heart were cartilaginous. Large *coagula* of coagulated lymph with crassamentum were in the auricles and ventricles of the heart; a very large coagulum in the left ventricle, occluding the passage of the blood into the *aorta*. It is thought the disease of the heart was not recent ; the *coagula* had probably been for some time increasing, but when the obstruction was such as to occlude the passage of the blood into the great artery, death was instant and unavoidable."

One of the gentlemen, who attended the examination, JOHN C. WARREN, M. D. from appearances then exhibited, and from inquiry respecting the commencement and progress of the fatal attack, considered the disease to be acute, and termed it "Malignant inflammation of the Pericardium."

" No remarkable external appearance presented itself. In the cavity of the chest, the lungs exhibited a natural and healthy appearance ; and their vessels were very moderately charged with blood. The mucous membrane of the bronchiæ had a slight appearance of inflammation. The pleura was not inflamed, but exhibited a net work of vessels in various parts, which probably would have gone on to decided inflammation. The cavities of the pleura contained a little serous fluid. The loose pericardium was covered with a uniform, but delicate blush, deepest near the diaphragm. The pericardium, which closely invests the heart, exhibited marks of violent inflammation. It was generally of a red colour, but this colour became

* The exact words do not occur to recollection. The original expression is as beautiful as the thought.

of a livid hue on the surface, next the diaphragm, like the colour of parts tending to gangrene. This membrane was thickened and in many parts covered with coagulated lymph. A small quantity of serum, mixed with semi-purulent lymph, was contained in its cavity. The substance of the heart was swelled and remarkably tender. It was covered with fat. None of its cavities were enlarged. They were all filled with blood, which was principally fluid. The semilunar valves of the aorta had the hardness of a fibro-cartilage, and in some places were in a state near ossification. The inner coat of the aorta was brittle, and contained a number of hard specks. The organs in the cavity of the abdomen were in a healthy state, and exhibited no very remarkable appearance."

Jour. of Med. Vol. II. p. 155.

[I. Page 226.] The funeral was attended on Thursday, 18 February, with great solemnity, by a vast concourse. A prayer was made, by Rev. Dr. Lathrop, at the house, with the family and relatives of the deceased, and his brethren of the ministry and the College. The bereaved church and congregation, the members of various societies with which he was connected, and a numerous assembly of acquaintance and strangers, attended at the meeting-house, where a prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Channing. The pall supporters were, Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and Dr. Freeman, of Boston; Dr. Porter, of Roxbury; Mr. Harris, of Dorchester; President Kirkland, and Professor McKean, of Harvard College. These in succession preached to the afflicted society, from the following passages of holy writ, applied to the solemn occasion.

Feb. 21.	Rev. J. LATHROP, D.D.	1 Thess. v. 9, 10, 11. "For God hath not "appointed us to wrath; but to obtain sal- "vation by our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.
" 28.	" J. T. KIRKLAND, D.D.	Isaiah, lvii. 2. "He shall enter into peace; "they shall rest in their beds, each one "walking in his UPRIGHTNESS."
Mar. 7.	" J. FREEMAN, D. D.	Romans, xii. 7—18. "Let us wait on our "MINISTERING, or he that teacheth on "teaching;" &c.
" 14.	" E. PORTER, D. D.	John, xi. 16. "Let us also go that we may "DIE WITH HIM."
" 21.	" T. M. HARRIS,	Hebrews, xiii. 7. "Remember them who "have spoken unto you the WORD OF "GOD; whose faith follow, considering "the end of their conversation."
" 28.	" J. McKEAN,	John, xxi. 20. "The disciple WHOM "JESUS LOVED."

[An unexpected failure of some articles for this volume, having caused an interruption in the printing of nearly three months, gives opportunity for the insertion of the following communication from a highly respected friend.]

BOSTON, JULY 26, 1813.

Dear Sir,

IN the just tribute you have paid to the memory of our late excellent friend, Dr. J. ELIOT, it is suggested in a note, p. 231, that the first *English* exercises at commencement were in 1769. From my recollection for a few years prior to that date you will permit me to give you the following information.

On commencement day, 1763, Jedidiah Huntington pronounced the first English oration known on such an occasion, in the morning, and in the afternoon John Lowell and William Hooper spoke a dialogue in English, on the advantages of the peace then recently concluded between England, France and Spain, which met with much applause.

In 1764, there was no publick commencement on account of the small pox, prevalent that year, which produced a long vacation at College.

1765. Joseph Taylor delivered an English oration, A. M. I do not remember any thing spoken in English, P. M.

1766. Jonathan L. Austin spoke an oration in English, A. M. and Josiah Quincy another, P. M.

1767. Thomas Bernard had prepared one, but from diffidence on account of an hesitancy in his speech or some other reason, did not choose to deliver it. There was a dialogue between Daniel Johnson and Moses Holt. Nothing that I remember, P. M.

Of 1768 I do not remember any thing particular; but believe that nothing was spoken in English.

You are right as to Ward Chipman, 1770. I well recollect an oration which he delivered on law. Austin and Tudor, 1769, are not so fresh in my mind, but have no doubt of the correctness as to them.

I am, my dear Sir, yours,

ISAAC SMITH.

Rev. John Eliot, Minister of the New North Church, Boston, New England.

CALGARTH PARK, KENDALL, 13 JUNE, 1807.

Reverend Sir,

THE day before yesterday I was honoured by your letter of the 26th May, 1806, delivered to me by Mr. Buckminster, whom I could not prevail upon to favour me with more than an *en passant* visit; though I am certain, from what I saw of him, that I have cause to lament, that his engagements would not suffer him to make a longer stay.

I accept with great pleasure and gratitude the distinction you announce to me of being elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. My studies have not, at any period of my life, been particularly directed to historical inquiry; and, at the age of seventy, I must despair of being able to render the Society any service as an associate; especially as I am unacquainted with its general design, as it respects ancient or modern history.

Nothing can be more interesting, either to philosophers or divines, than the history of the human species, considered either in its several parts, or as constituting one great whole. The first will be gratified with tracing the progression and retrogradation of human intellect, according to the influence of physical and moral causes, in every part of the world, and in every age; and the second will be penetrated with the highest veneration for the Bible, which commences, as it were, and arranges the history of mankind, by referring all nations to one common stock. In this view the distinction between ancient and modern history vanishes, the two together are united into one whole, originating in Adam, and subjected to the moral government of that one incomprehensible Being from whom every thing is derived. The real existence and the extent of this moral government is best discerned by comparing the circumstances of the whole species, with respect to happiness, morals, and intelligence, at distant periods.

The peopling of America by European christians, and the rise of a great empire, (which is now beginning to at-

tract the notice of other States) in that quarter of the globe, will be contemplated by future ages as important epochs in the general history of man; and they will, by the art of printing, become known to our latest posterity, freed from that confusion, uncertainty, and contradiction in which the histories of remote ages are universally involved.

If the labours of your Society are restricted, principally, to the history of your own country, here is abundant matter for erudite and extensive investigation. In addition to all that can now be known of the civil histories of Peru, of Mexico, and of the savage nations yet subsisting in the interior of the country, a copious source of historical detail is opened by the separation of America from Great Britain. The causes which produced that separation, the great men who accomplished it, and the consequences which have followed it, highly merit the most accurate narration. The introduction of the sciences, the establishment of literary societies, the cultivation of the arts, the gradual improvement or deterioration of the principles of government in the several states composing the general confederation, the policy or impolicy of European alliances, the extension of commerce, the practicability or utility of forming American settlements in Asia or Africa, these, and matters such as these, present themselves to my mind as fit objects of historical discussion. But I forbear, from not having any knowledge of the ends for which your Society has been instituted; and I conclude with expressing my most ardent wishes, that the offspring of Great Britain may be as illustrious in the peaceful arts of life, as the mother from which she has sprung has long been, and that it may be more fortunate than the parent has been in escaping the calamity of frequent wars, principally occasioned by the avarice of commerce, and the ambition of despotism: and more fortunate, also, in escaping that excess of wealth, which, by introducing luxury, contaminates the probity of individuals, enervates the physical strength of nations, and subverts the freest constitutions.

I have the honour to be,
Reverend Sir,
Your faithful servant,
R. LANDAFF.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE HONOURABLE JAMES SULLIVAN, ESQ. F. H. S. &c. &c. BY. J. W.

THE late governour Sullivan, one of our original associates in the Historical Society, and our first president, was born at Berwick, in the District of Maine, on 22 April, 1744, and is said to be fourth son to his father, who came from Europe, and settled in that town, as a farmer. The son having met with an hurt, which proved a lasting injury to him in walking, turned his attention to the study of the law, under his brother John Sullivan, who afterward became eminent as one of our revolutionary generals, and as governour of the state of New Hampshire. When the term of study expired, he opened his office at Biddeford, on Saco river, and continued there until after the commencement of our revolutionary war. He had, even at that early period of life, attracted the attention of the government, who appointed him attorney general for the county of York. Our dispute with Great Britain was then growing serious. Mr. Sullivan was able at once to appreciate the advantages to the community from a vigorous assertion of our rights, and we find him uniformly joining the band of patriots, who nobly defeated the claims of Great Britain, and at length obliged her to recognize our independence. During almost the whole of the contest, we find his name in situations both honourable and responsible. He represented the town of Biddeford in the provincial Congress in 1774 and 1775, and in the legislature, which was regularly formed upon the model of the charter, in 1776. In the first set of officers for the civil department, he was appointed judge of the maritime court in the district in which he resided. The next year he was called to the superiour court, as the supreme judiciary was then denominated. Soon after this promotion he removed his family to Groton, where he purchased a farm.

Necessity had obliged the government to defray the expences of war by the medium of an unfunded paper currency. Toward the end of 1777 the depreciation became visible, and to those who were limited in their resources, as

ublick officers and literary men generally were, it became listressing. Mr. Sullivan however, far from being discouraged, continued his official exertions, until it had become evidently necessary for the enemy to accede to our claims. He then, in 1782, resigned his office of judge, and removed his family to Cambridge, and soon afterward to Boston, which became the place of his stated residence till his death. He was appointed a delegate to Congress in 1783, and was continually in some station of publick employment during he remainder of his life. The times of his different promotions, or occasional employment in publick service, are particularly detailed in an elegant memoir written on the occasion of his death, by one of the most accomplished literati of our country, and published in the periodical productions of that time.

His mind was not only uncommonly comprehensive, but always on the stretch. He published a learned work in his profession, and wrote an history of that part of the state in which he began life. Both these works are esteemed in the different departments to which they relate, and though neither of them is supposed to be perfect, yet the imperfections are such as would hardly be noticed in writers of the common stamp. He published a number of smaller tracts, which have not yet been collected into a volume, though generally speaking the same vigorous intellect appeared in all his writings; yet from several of them being written on special occasions, they have not acquired the permanent form.

In every department in which he served, strict fidelity, due attention to the rights of all with whom he transacted business, and unremitting industry, united to friendly manners, gained the esteem and affection of the community, which they expressed by electing him governour of Massachusetts in 1807, and re-electing him in 1808. During this period, overburdened with publick cares, and worn out by a continual succession of difficult and arduous employments, his constitution began to fail, and before the expiration of the second year of his administration, he sunk into his grave. He continued however, notwithstanding the decline of his health, to do business till within a few days

of his death, and transacted it with the same regularity in the near views of his dissolution, as when he was in health. His mind was supported by the christian hope, and faith, that death was to those, who had done their duty here, only a change of abode, and an entrance on a more permanent state of enjoyment.

As governour he was remarkably successful in mitigating the severity of the political parties, which divided the state, and their leaders generally and sincerely regretted his death. He died on 10 December, 1808, in the sixty fifth year of his age, and was buried with the honours conferred on his exalted station, and which were aknowledged to belong to his distinguished merit.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE REV. WILLIAM EMERSON.

The late Rev. William Emerson was a man so much esteemed by the publick, and is remembered with so much respect and affection by his friends, that it would be unjust that these volumes, which his own labours contributed to enrich, should not contain some record of his life and some memorial, however imperfect, of his worth.

The life of a scholar, and particularly of a clergyman, whose occupations are necessarily so regular and uniform, of course can seldom furnish many materials for biography. Mr. Emerson was born at Concord, Massachusetts, on the 6th of May, 1769. He was the only son of the minister of that place, whose career of usefulness was prematurely closed in the 35th year of his age, while he was engaged in the service of his country at the beginning of the American revolution. Though deprived of the guidance of a father at the early age of seven years, he was enabled by the blessing of heaven on the care of an excellent mother to pass a blameless childhood. When in his seventeenth year he entered Harvard College, his views of life were already so just, his habits of industry so fixed, and his principles of action so elevated and correct, that he passed through the temptations to which he was exposed unhurt,

and left the university in 1789 with a reputation for talents, learning, and virtue, which his succeeding life confirmed and increased.

After engaging for a short time, as is usual with most of our clergy, in the care of a school, he completed his theological studies, and in the year 1792 was ordained over the church in Harvard. From this place he was called to a sphere of wider usefulness in the metropolis, and was installed in the First Church, Boston, October, 1799. Here the suavity and courtesy of his manners, and the fidelity and ability with which he discharged his pastoral duties, secured to him a great share of publick esteem and affection. He became a member of nearly all the learned and charitable societies, which in this town are so numerous, and in most of them was entrusted with some important office. He was never weary in contriving and encouraging plans for the improvement of the moral and literary character of the community. In the year 1804 he undertook the conduct of the Monthly Anthology and Boston Review, a literary journal, which, in conjunction with several friends whom he interested in its fate, he gratuitously supported, and which sustained a reputation not inferior to any similar work, which had preceded it in this country. He continued in the uninterrupted discharge of these multiplied duties to great acceptance till May, 1808, when his friends perceived the first indications of his precarious health. The manner in which he bore the violence of a disease, which attacked him at this period, cannot be better described than in the language of one of his friends,* who already alas! himself claims from us the same sad tribute which he gave to his deceased brother.

"Of the practical strength of his faith and piety he was permitted to give us a memorable example during the sudden attack, which he sustained a few years since in all the fullness of his health and expectations, when he was busily preparing for a publick service. Those who then saw him brought down in an instant, and without any previous warning, to the gates of death, can never forget the steadfastness with which he received the alarm, and the

* Rev. J. S Buckminster's Sermon at the funeral of Mr. E.

singular humility and composure with which he waited during many days, doubtful of life and expecting to leave all that was dear to him on earth to present himself before God."*

From this attack however he apparently recovered, and resumed all his usual employments with his accustomed activity and interest. The occasion of the erection of a new place of publick worship for the First Church suggested to him the plan of a history of that ancient and respectable society. It has been published since his decease by his friends, and though labouring under the disadvantage of being posthumous and incomplete, it displays great accuracy and minuteness of research, and is read with pleasure and profit by those, who take an interest in the early history and ecclesiastical antiquities of our country. In preparing this work he was engaged till the symptoms of the disease, which finally closed his life, interrupted his labours, while employed in an analysis of the works and character of Chauncy. He sustained the severity of a lingering and distressing disorder with the most exemplary fortitude and christian tranquillity till at length he sunk under its force on 11th of May, 1811.

Such are the few incidents, possessing sufficient general interest to be here recorded, which are to be found in the peaceful and even tenor of the life of this excellent man. In reviewing his character and attainments it is not difficult to show the grounds of that reputation, which during his life he enjoyed. He was a man of lively and vigorous talents, and possessed the rare felicity of having them so constantly at command, that his literary efforts are almost all of nearly equal excellence. He possessed great diligence and activity in every pursuit in which he engaged, and was remarkably methodical and exact in the distribution of his time. If we were to select any single feature as marking his character more distinctly than any other, we should

* "It was in the year 1808, that he was attacked with a profuse hemorrhage from the lungs, from the effects of which he never completely recovered. But the disease, of which he died, had not probably the remotest connexion with this bleeding. It appeared upon examination, that the lower orifice of the stomach was almost entirely closed by a schirrhous tumour, or hard swelling, which on the inside was ulcerated. So completely was the passage of the pylorus obliterated, that a drop of water could hardly be pressed through it from the stomach, which was full."

say it was the singular propriety with which he filled every station to which he was called. His strong curiosity led him to engage in a great variety of studies; and his love of activity allowed his friends to lay upon him the burden of a great multitude of occupations in the various literary and charitable societies of which he was a member. This variety and number of his duties—though they did not leave him leisure to carry his researches very deeply into many sciences—enabled him to gain a merited fame for active usefulness and devotion to the cause of benevolence; a fame, in the eye of reason and religion, far more valuable, than any renown, which can be claimed by a man of barren, though ever so profound speculation.

As a clergyman he was greatly endeared to his society. His manner in the pulpit was graceful and dignified, though seldom impassioned. His sermons were remarkably chaste and regular in their structure, correct and harmonious in their style, seldom aiming at the more daring graces of rhetoric, but always clear and accurate, and, to a great majority of hearers, particularly acceptable.

In all the private relations of life he was most exemplary and conscientious. His purity was without a stain. His integrity was above all suspicion. No man delighted more in the happiness of his friends, or would more actively and disinterestedly exert himself to promote it. How deeply he felt the truth and value of the religion which he preached no one could doubt, who witnessed the consolation and support, which they gave him in his dying moments. By a life uniformly devoted to the cause of truth, and of the best interests of mankind, he has left to his children and friends a rich legacy in the remembrance of his virtues. He has given them one more motive to form their lives on the principles, which governed his, that they may hereafter share with him the rewards, which, we trust, he has already gone to receive.

The following is given as a correct list of Mr. E.'s acknowledged publications.

1. Sermon at Harvard, 4 July, 1794.
2. Sermon at the artillery election, Boston, 1799.

3. Sermon before the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1800.
4. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Robert Smiley, 23 September, 1801.
5. Boston Oration, 4 July, 1802.
6. Sermon on the death of Rev. Dr. Thacher, 1802.
7. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Thomas Bedé, 1803.
8. Sermon on the death of madam Bowdoin, 1803.
9. Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1805.
10. Sermon on the death of Charles Austin, 1806.
11. Discourse before the Humane Society, 1807.
12. The first, second, third, and seventh discourses in the fourth number of the Christian Monitor, with the prayers annexed to each discourse.
13. A selection of psalms and hymns, embracing all the varieties of subject and metre, suitable for private devotion and the worship of churches, 12mo. 1808.
14. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Clark, Burlington, 1800.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF ISAAC LOTHROP, ESQ.

THIS gentleman was a descendant, in the fifth generation, from the Rev. John Lothropp, of whom a full account is given in this volume.* He was born at Plymouth, December 11th, 1736, (O. S.) and was the son of Isaac Lothrop, Esq. a gentleman of distinguished worth, who died at the age of 43, in the year 1750.

This son, who was the oldest of five children left by Colonel Lothrop, after receiving the usual school educa-

* In the good-humoured orthographical dispute, relative to the family name, Mr. *Lothrop* always strenuously contended for the preservation of the *o* in the first syllable. Some of the descendants of the Rev. J. *Lothropp*, especially the Connecticut branch, write the name *Lathrop*. The writer of this note well recollects the pleasure with which his esteemed friend received the two original letters of his ancestor, which were found among the *Winslow* papers at Marshfield, in the year 1792. Every word and syllable was precious in his estimation: But he was particularly gratified in finding the name so written, as to support the practice of the Old Colony branch of descendants. It is not recollected how the modern omission of one of the consonants was excused or explained.

From a recurrence to the original letters, copied in the Memoir of the Rev. *John Lothropp*, it appears that the names of the two persons, who signed the last letter with Mr. Lothropp, (left partly in blank in the printed copy,) were *Henry Cobb* and *Elkanah Jenkinson*. In the same letter, page 174 of this volume, line 10th, for *primer*, read *firmer*: and in the first line of the other letter, page 174, for *towards*, read *touching*.

tion, lived seven years with Mr. Joseph Sherburne, a merchant in Boston. He remained about two years in Boston, after the expiration of his clerkship, and then returned to Plymouth, where he spent the remainder of his life, first as a merchant; but from the year 1778 he confined himself to his official duties, as register of probate for the county.

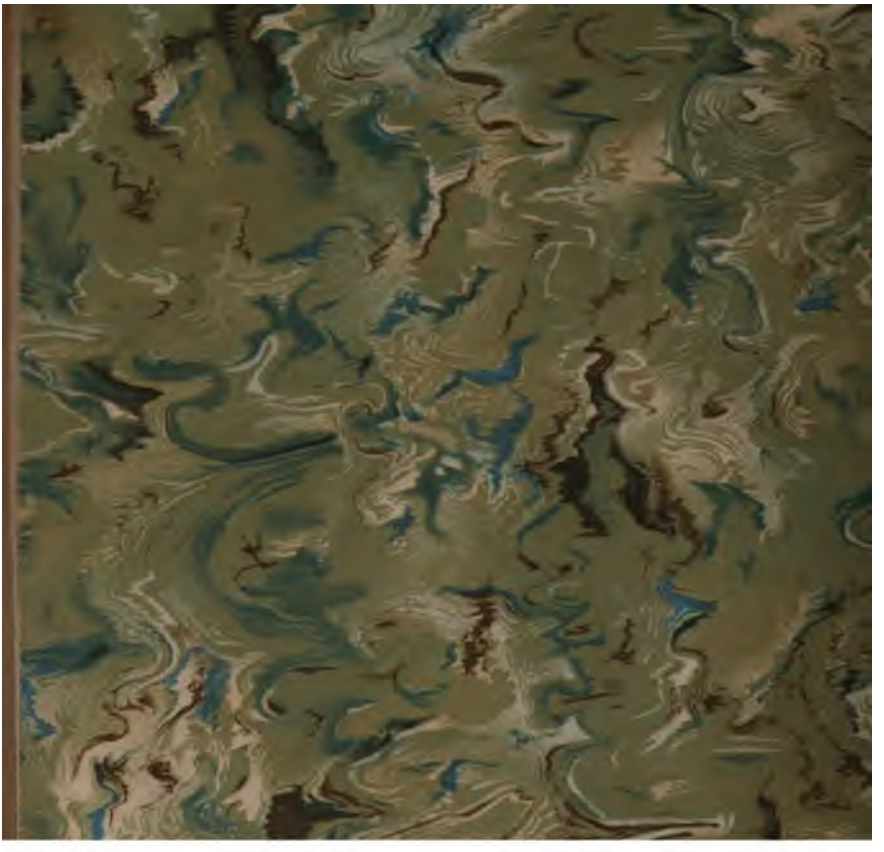
Integrity, veracity, kindness, habitual courteousness, affability, cheerfulness and unaffected simplicity marked his character, and the impressions made by his virtuous life and amiable deportment cannot be effaced from the hearts of those, who had the pleasure of his friendship or acquaintance. He was elected a member of the Historical Society in October, 1791. His well known attachment to Antiquarian researches led to the choice, and he uniformly manifested a lively interest in the objects of the Society, its reputation and usefulness. He died July 25, 1808. Soon afterward, one of his friends, at Plymouth, officially connected with the deceased, and who well knew his worth, made the following communication, which was published in one of the Boston newspapers, and gives a just view of his character.

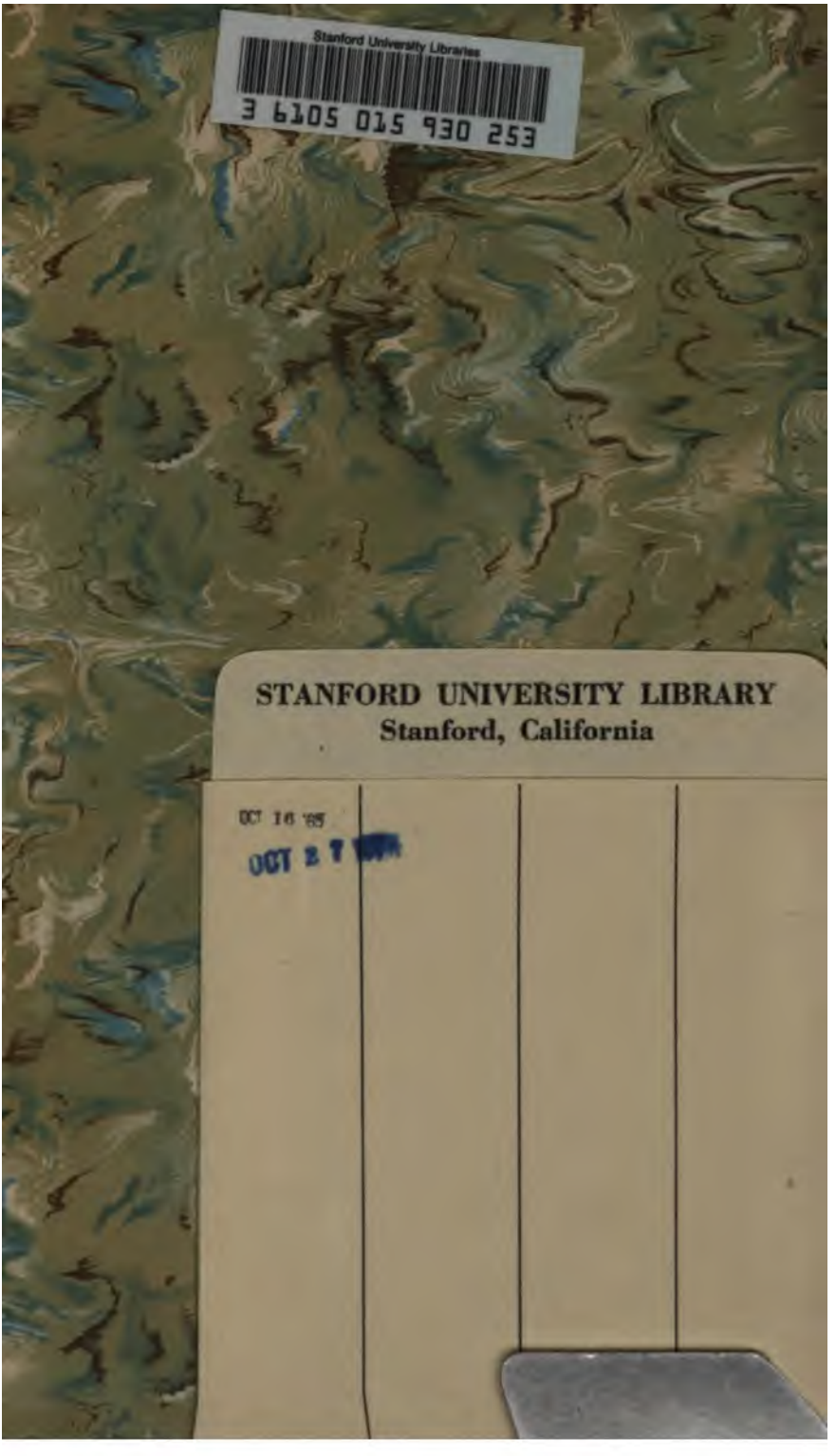
"Died at Plymouth, on the morning of the 25th instant, Isaac Lothrop, Esq. in the 73d year of his age.—If the inclinations of the deceased had been consulted, his singular modesty would have resisted any other obituary notice of him, than that already given; but in Mr. Lothrop were united so many excellent traits of character, that it would be injustice to his memory to pass them in silence. Though unambitious, and disposed rather to avoid than court distinction, by the unsolicited suffrages of his fellow citizens, he was chosen one of the representatives of Plymouth, in the legislature and provincial Congress some few years prior and subsequent to the commencement of hostilities in the late revolutionary war. In those trying and anxious times, he exhibited the purest patriotism and an unshaken confidence in the rectitude and ultimate success of the cause of his country. In all the conflicting periods since, he has manifested an uniform attachment to the principles of the revolution, if an unde-

viating adherence to the political system of the illustrious WASHINGTON is proof of such attachment. In the year 1778, he was appointed Register of Probate for the county of Plymouth, which office he retained to his death. The unbending uprightness that marked his conduct in this office, the ability and gentlemanly manner with which he discharged the duties of it, will long be remembered with affectionate respect. He cherished with lively ardour, a natural fondness for antiquity; and so exalted was his veneration of the pious planters of New-England, who first landed in this town, that he delighted in tracing their every foot-step, and the minutest circumstances of their history were treasured in his mind. Hence, soon after the institution of the Historical Society, he was elected a member, and among the earliest members of the Humane Society he enrolled his name. In his friendships, he was steady, ardent, sincere;—undisguised in his feelings, and removed from the least tincture of duplicity, his bosom was the sacred depository of confidential intercourse. If his prejudices were strong, they were invariably pointed at what he devoutly believed to be profligacy in principle, or dishonesty in practice. Such in fine, was Mr. Lothrop's scrupulous integrity, such his thorough detestation of every species of iniquitous, or even temporizing procedure, that the inscription on the tomb-stone of his beloved father, would be an appropriate one for his own:—

"Had virtue's charms the power to save,
Its faithful votaries from the grave,
This stone had ne'er possess'd the fame,
Of being mark'd with LOTHROP's name."

END OF VOL. I. SECOND SERIES.

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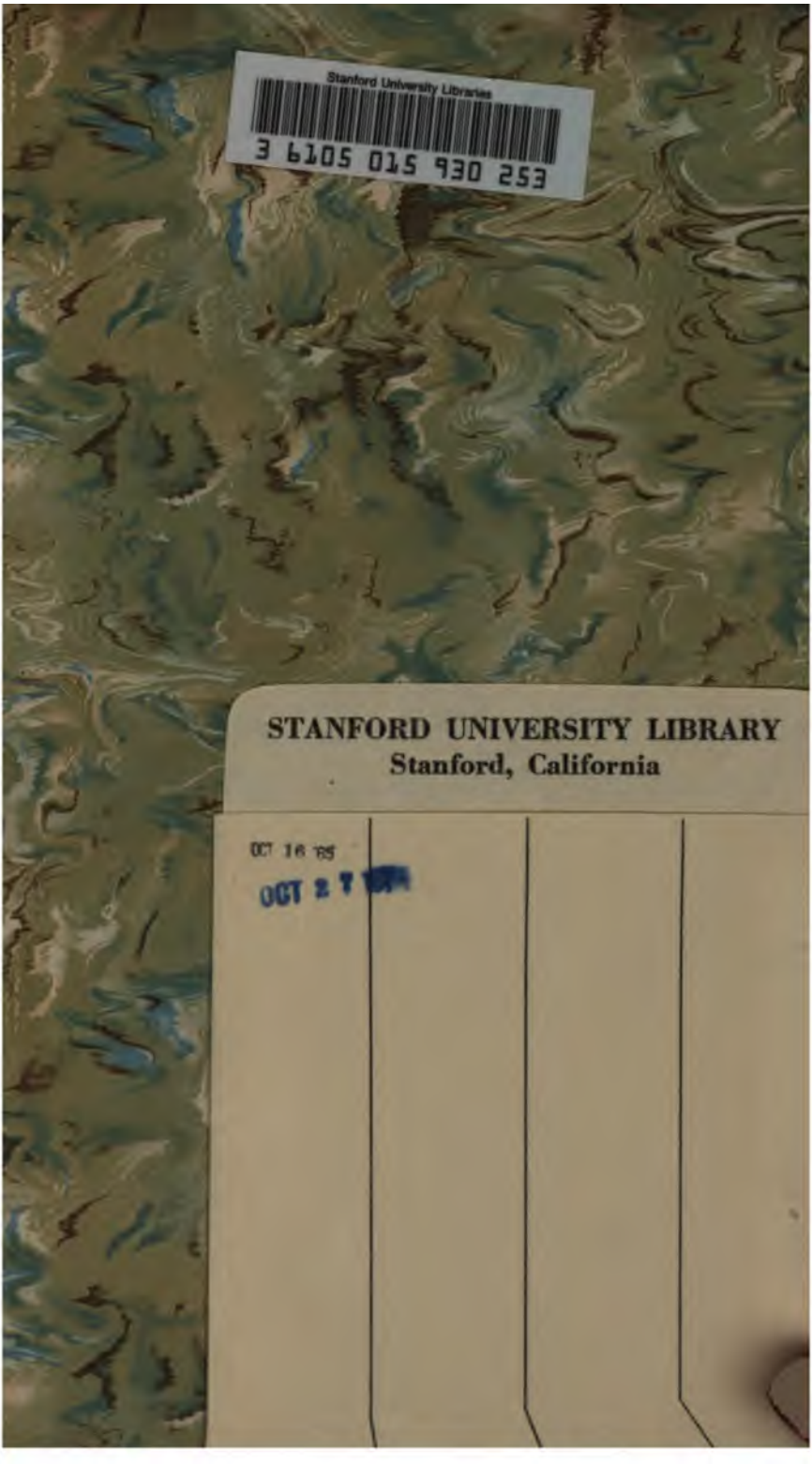
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